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THE INDO-GREEKS

BY

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF MY PARENTS

PREFACE

THE importance of a subject is not always proportionate to the amount of material which has survived about it. In the early part of the eighteenth century two coins of the Greco-Bactrians were found and they suggested to Theophilus Bayer the plan of his work, *Historia regni Graecorum Bactriani*, published at St. Petersburg in 1738. And exactly 200 years later, in 1938, appeared the work of Dr. (now Sir) William Woodthorpe Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, of which a second edition came out in 1951. The history of the Indo-Greeks is in itself a long story of arduous research and no work can be done without paying due credit to the investigations of James Prinsep, Christian Lassen, Horace Hayman Wilson, Alexander Cunningham, Percy Gardner, Alfred von Sallet, Hugh George Rawlinson, Charles J. Rodgers, Edward James Rapson, George Macdonald, John Marshall, Richard Bertram Whitehead, John Allan, and many others. The present book ventures only to follow in their footsteps and it is largely a result of a study of their works. But I have also been fortunate in getting fresh information which has given some further strength to my conclusions. Especially noteworthy are the discovery of a hoard of Indo-Greek coins from Qunduz lying unnoticed in the Kabul Museum; the publication of an account of a remarkable treasure of coins of the Indo-Greeks and their successors found at Mir Zakah in Afghanistan; the discovery of a new manuscript of the *Yugapurāṇa*; and the increasing number of the Mitra kings and other local powers known from their coins to have ruled over northern India. I have also been rewarded in examining old Sale Catalogues, which have given some coin-types hitherto ignored by scholars. My re-examination of some passages of the western classical sources has brought about unexpected results. Similarly a new study of the Chinese evidence has thrown strikingly new light on the problems of the period.

It will be difficult for anything to be written on the Indo-Greeks now or in future without a thorough reading of Sir William's book, and students must forever be thankful to him for the service he has done to both classical and Oriental learning by his scholarly work. Though my own interpretation of the evidence does not permit me

to draw a picture on the lines of that of Sir William Tarn, nevertheless, he has provided an essential basis for my research. But I am not altogether happy when Sir William says in the preface of his book, that, '... to write this book impersonally was not possible; much of it is spadework, and it had to get written as best it could, other considerations being subordinated to an effort to make the bearing of the rather complex collection of little details clear to the reader ...', and later in his introduction that: 'The coins of course are all-important. ... But the numismatist as such has sometimes been unable to place or explain the facts which he has elicited, naturally so, for he is not expected to be a Hellenistic historian. ... I am not concerned with the coins as coins, but as material for history.' No doubt it is true that numismatics is one of those unwritten sources which gives scope to the historian to wander off into the land of romance, *if* he is not disciplined in understanding the limitations of the source he is using. And I think it is natural that, for periods of ancient history where numismatics is the major source, those who have been trained to tackle coins have been more objective in presenting the story than the general historian. For certain periods the historian has to be a numismatist; he must treat history as a science and not as literature. Method is more important than the 'background', and accuracy is more important than flourish.

The reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks is primarily based on numismatic evidence, and naturally much stress has been given to it in this book, but very important conclusions have been strengthened also by an analysis of the literary sources. Yet certainties are not many, and I have been forced to make surmises, though they have been made with caution; I do not put forward my hypotheses dogmatically and I have nothing to advocate.

This book deals only with the political history of the Yavanas. The culural side has not been discussed. In one appendix the term 'Yavana' has been examined and in another the relevant passages of the *Yugapurāṇa* have been analysed and re-edited. There are two other small appendixes, one on Sāgala and the other on the Seres and Phryni. An appendix giving a complete list of the Indo-Greek coin-types, both published and unpublished, was originally planned as part of this book, but it has now already been published by me elsewhere as *Numismatic Notes and Monograph*, No. 1 of the

Numismatic Society of India. Six plates and three maps are added. Only those coins have been illustrated which were found essential. The two Indian inscriptions, which have preserved the names of two Indo-Greek kings, have also been illustrated.

The present work substantially represents my thesis for the Ph.D. degree of London University, and this was completed in May 1954. I started to work on this topic in 1947 under the encouragement and guidance of Professor A. S. Altekar and I take this opportunity to pay my due respects and sincere thanks to him. But, while working on this subject in India, I faced difficulties, which will be obvious to all those who know how scanty are the resources for work of this nature available there. These difficulties, however, were solved by the award of a Holkar Fellowship by the Banaras Hindu University, which enabled me to go to England and pursue my investigations under Dr. A. L. Basham at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. I must here express my gratitude and affection to him. He has been intimately connected with the preparation of this book up to the printing stage. Moreover, I am really grateful to him for his encouragement at a time when it was most needed; in fact, he has been the godfather of this book.

I must admit that I have been fortunate, throughout the writing of this work, in coming into close association with the two senior numismatists who made the Indo-Greek coins their special field of study, Dr. R. B. Whitehead—who helped in the supervision of my work—and the late Dr. John Allan. I must pay a tribute of gratitude to them, not only for making available to me their wide experience of numismatic studies, but also for having kindly gone through line by line and word for word the entire manuscript. I am very grateful to Professor E. H. Warmington and Mr. A. G. Way for helping me to read and understand the implications of the western classical sources and again to the former for taking extreme care in going through the typescript and undertaking the tedious task of checking even in proof my handling of the classical material. I am deeply indebted to Professor Kazuo Enoki for his ungrudging help in reading the Chinese sources in the original and translating afresh the relevant passages for me. I am indeed grateful to my friends Mr. G. K. Jenkins and Dr. A. D. H. Bivar for their generosity in making available to me new materials and for their valuable suggestions and constant help I must also thank Professors

R. C. Majumdar, H. W. Bailey, John Brough, R. B. Pandey, V. S. Agrawala, and V. Raghavan and Drs. V. Ehrenberg and W. P. Schmid for various kinds of help. I am thankful to Dr. John Walker, the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and his staff, and also the Keepers of the Fitzwilliam and Ashmolean Museums, the late Major-General H. L. Haughton and Mr. Hugh de S. Shortt for giving me all facilities to study coins in their collections. I am obliged to many others who kindly helped me in one way or another. And I am thankful to my wife not only for the tedious task of preparing the index for the book but more for her inspiration which sustained me in my work and for her spirit of sacrifice without which this book might not have appeared at all.

Lastly, I desire to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for undertaking publication, and the staff of the Press for the way in which publication has been carried out. For illustrations my acknowledgements are due to the Keeper of the Coins and Medals, British Museum, Mr Hugh de S. Shortt, M. Aziz-beglou, and Dr. A. D. H. Bivar.

I must end by saying that this little book is just another attempt to arrange Indo-Greek history in some order before new discoveries may settle matters conclusively. Until then I can only crave for an 'agree-to-differ' attitude, a scholarly toleration on matters where no one at this stage can give a final statement.

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POSTSCRIPT: After the typescript was sent to the printers certain relevant articles have appeared, and it has not been possible to discuss some points raised by them; these articles have now been included in the Bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	*The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar. Bombay, 1951.
Altheim	Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, 2 vols. Halle, 1947, 1948.
ASR	Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
BM	British Museum.
BMC	*A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria*. London, 1886.
BMC Ancient India	*A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*. London, 1936.
BMC Parthia	*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Parthia*. London, 1903.
BMC Seleucid	*A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Seleucid Kings*. London, 1878.
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CASE	A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*. London, 1884.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, ed. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922.
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. ii, Part I, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, by Sten Konow. Calcutta, 1929.
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
ESM	E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints.* New York, 1941.
Gutschmid	A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans . . .*. Tübingen, 1888.
Hirth	'The Story of Chang-Kien', *JAOS*, 1917, pp. 89 ff.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Indian Culture.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JHS	*Journal of the Hellenic Society.*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JUPHS	*Journal of the Uttar Pradesh* (formerly the United Provinces) *Historical Society.*

MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary.*
NNM(ANS)	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society.*
NNM(NSI)	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the Numismatic Society of India.*
NS	*Numismatic Supplement* to *JASB.*
PHAI	H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 6th edn. Calcutta, 1953.
PMC	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* vol. i, *Indo-Greek Coins.*
Schlumberger	R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors Monétaires d'Afghanistan.* Paris, 1953.
Tarn	W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India.* Cambridge, 2nd edition, 1951.
Trever	K. B. Trever, *Pamyatniki Greko-Baktriyskogo Iskusstva.* Moscow and Leningrad, 1940.
von Sallet	A. von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien.* Berlin, 1879.
WSM	E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints.* New York, 1941.
Wylie	A. Wylie, 'Notes on the Western Regions', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* vol. x, 1880.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

Abbreviations used in the Descriptions of Coin-types

AV	gold
AR	silver
Æ	copper
l.	left
NK	nickel
Obv.	obverse
r.	right
Rev.	reverse

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THERE are few episodes in history as remarkable as the story of the Indo-Greeks, and even fewer the problems of which are so fascinating. These Indo-Greeks were called *Yavana* in ancient Indian literature.[1]

It has been suggested[2] that the Indo-Greeks or Yavanas were the people who were settled in areas contiguous to north-west India by Alexander and his Seleucid successors. This is not only a narrow definition but one which does not agree with the evidence.

The date of Pāṇini, the Sanskrit grammarian, is still controversial. But, in the general consensus of scholarly opinion, he is placed much before Alexander.[3] He was an inhabitant of Salātura in the vicinity of Taxila. In his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* he states that the feminine form of *Yavana* is *Yavanānī*.[4] This latter form according to Kātyāyana[5] denoted the Greek writing, *yavanāllipyāṃ*.[6] It is reasonable to suppose that Pāṇini knew of their script, that his knowledge of the Yavanas was not mere hearsay, and that the people known by this name may well have inhabited some area near his homeland.[7] Like other early Indian sources Pāṇini associated the Yavanas with the Kambojas.[8] He may even have seen the 'shaven headed' Yavanas and Kambojas,[9] who were probably known as such

[1] Cf. Appendix I, pp, 165–9. The term had a precise meaning until well into the Christian era, when gradually its original significance was lost and, like the word *Mleccha*, it degenerated into a general term for a foreigner.

[2] Tarn, cf. generally the whole of his Chapter I and also pp. 118–25.

[3] Cf. *CHI*, p. 540; Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), p. 426; Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1855), p. 521; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. i (Calcutta, 1927), p. 42; Hannes Sköld, *Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 24; V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), p. 475.

[4] *Pāṇini*, 4. 1. 49.

[5] *Vārttika* 3 on *Pāṇini*, 4. 1. 49. Some scholars consider Kātyāyana a contemporary of Pāṇini (e.g. Max Müller) and some consider him later (e.g. Keith).

[6] This is paraphrased by Patañjali (*c.* middle of the second century B.C.) as *Yavanāllipyāṃ iti vaktavyaṃ Yavanānī lipiḥ.*

[7] Cf. also N. N. Dasgupta, *IC*, ii. 356 f.

[8] *Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha* 178 on 2. 1. 72: *Yavanamuṇḍa, Kambojamuṇḍa.*

[9] There is an interesting statement in *Harivaṁśa*, xiv. 16, that foreign tribes such as Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, and others were degraded by Sagara and

because, unlike the Indians, they wore their hair short.[1] A Yona state is mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[2] as flourishing along with Kamboja in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana, and we are informed that among these peoples there were only two social grades.[3]

That settlements of Greeks existed to the north-west of India before Alexander may be deduced from Western classical sources also. Arrian records the tradition of the Indian invasion of Dionysus[4] and it is noteworthy that he attaches more weight to this story than to that of similar exploits of Heracles, since he remarks, 'about Heracles there is not much tradition',[5] and he discusses in sober terms whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus.[6] There are specific references to the settlement of Nysa, its 'free' and 'inferior' citizens,[7] and to its cavalry.[8] The chief of Nysa, whose name was Acuphis, told Alexander 'this city of Nysa, in which we dwell, has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens'.[9] He added that the government was in the hands of the aristocrats.[10] Moreover, Arrian gives further explicit and circumstantial details: 'the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but part of those who came with Dionysus to India; probably even those Greeks who became past service in the wars which Dionysus waged with Indians; possibly also volunteers of the neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the Greeks. . . .'[11] Originally Nysa itself was thought to be imaginary and was put in different parts of the world, but the Nysa mentioned in connexion with Alexander's invasion of India 'probably stood on the lower spurs of the three-peaked Kohi-i-Mor'.[12] Dionysus may be mythical, but Nysa and its Greeks seem to be real.[13]

The story of the Branchidae[14] provides further evidence to this

were ordered to shave their heads: *Arddhaṃ Śakānāṃ śiraso muṇḍaṃ kṛtvā vyasarjayat, Yavanānāṃ śiraḥ sarvaṃ Kambojānāṃ tathaiva ca. . . .*

[1] Moti Chandra, *A Geographical and Economic Study of Upāyanaparva*, p. 35.

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 149.

[3] *Yona Kambojesu dveva vaṇṇā Ayyo ceva Dāso ca. . . .*

[4] Arrian, v. i, ii.; VI. ii. 3; VIII. i. 5.

[5] Ibid. VIII. v. 9.

[6] Ibid. v. i, ii.

[7] Ibid. v. ii. 3.

[8] Ibid. VI. ii. 3.

[9] Ibid. v. i. 6.

[10] Ibid. v. ii. 2.

[11] *Indica*, i. 4–5.

[12] *CHI*, p. 353; cf. also Smith, *EHI*[4], p. 56, fn. 2.

[13] For modern literature on this subject cf. Nock, *JHS*, 1928, pp. 21 ff.; Ehrenberg, *Ost und West*, 1935, pp. 164 ff.; Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, pp. 45 ff.

[14] Strabo, xi. 11. 4; xiv. 1. 5; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 557B; Curtius, vii. 5. 28–35.

effect.[1] The Branchidae claimed to be a sacred gens, descended from Branchos, the mythical founder of the temple of Apollo near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasure of their temple to Xerxes; this affair brought so much odium on them that they retired with Xerxes into the interior of Asia. Xerxes transported them to a small town in Sogdiana which may have been between Balkh and Samarkand,[2] where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a bilingual and partially de-hellenized race, but still attached to their tradition and origin. They received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their city and themselves to him. But they were not as fortunate as their brothers in Nysa, and Alexander was not as generous to the Milesians as he was to the followers of Dionysus. He madly destroyed the city and massacred its innocent citizens for the deeds of their forefathers. As Tarn believes, there may be inaccuracies in the story, but to us there seems to be no reason to call it a 'clumsy fabrication';[3] it is attested by at least three classical sources, and we believe its purport to be true.

There is evidence to show that the Greeks of various city-states in Asia Minor were sometimes threatened by the Persians with exile to the far eastern portions of the Achaemenid empire[4] and were actually settled in those areas.[5]

The numismatic evidence confirms the literary reports.[6] The regular currency of the Achaemenids consisted of gold darics and silver sigloi. Silver sigloi are only sparingly found in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire, and it has been shown that they were issued chiefly for the western cities.[7] It is strange that the

[1] Beal, *IA*, 1880, pp. 68–71; Franz V. Schwarz, *Alexander des Großen Feldzüge in Turkestan*, p. 37; B. V. Head, *NC*, 1906, p. 6; H. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, pp. 33, 41. The latter notes (p. 41): 'The story is only found in Curtius. There is, unfortunately, no reason to doubt it.' But, as we have shown above, the story is known from other sources also, and thus there is all the more reason to believe it.

[2] Beal, op. cit., p. 69.

[3] Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, i, p. 67.

[4] Herodotus, vi. 9; cf. also H. G. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 32, 'Bactria seems to have been used as a sort of "Siberia" under the Persian kings'.

[5] Besides the colonies of the Thracians (?) at Nysa and of the Branchidae in Sogdiana, we know from Herodotus, iv. 204, that a colony of Libyans from Barca was settled in Bactria. Cf. also for other references Trever, p. 4.

[6] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures, 1921 (Ancient Indian Numismatics)* pp. 24–32; also B. V. Head, *NC*, 1906, pp. 1 ff.

[7] Schlumberger, pp. 3 ff.

Achaemenids, who coined silver for one area, did not do so for the other. It may reasonably be suggested that the so-called bent-bar coins and other pieces of smaller denominations bearing similar marks were struck for the eastern region with their knowledge and consent.[1] Side by side with this class of money, which served the needs of some peoples and areas in the east, there also circulated in large numbers the silver coins of the various cities of Asia Minor. The Athenian 'owls', together with the issues of other Greek cities, which have been found in Afghanistan,[2] must have been brought there by the Greeks both as traders and settlers. Undoubtedly there was a continuous flow of such coins from the west, and it is probable that pieces of similar character were also struck locally.[3] As the Achaemenid power declined, local satraps became virtually independent, and we get such money as the coins called 'imitation owls' and 'eagles', and the issues of a certain Sophytes.[4] Erudite studies have appeared on these coins.[5] Typologically they seem to form a single group, one series being linked with the other by features of type and fabric.[6] And they apparently conform to an independent

[1] This is indicated by (i) the weights of the bent-bar coins, (ii) the close relationship to Indian punch-marked coins, although they have distinct symbols which are not generally found on the Indian punch-marked series, (iii) style, and (iv) the fact that north-west India and adjoining areas were for some time included in the Achaemenid empire. Cf. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, Introduction, pp. xv–xvi, clxi, clxiii, Pl. I. 1–5. Also Schlumberger, Appendix I, pp. 37 ff., Pls. III–IV.

[2] 'Enquiry has failed to bring to light any trustworthy records of the actual discovery of "owls" in India'; this remark in *CHI*, p. 387, is true to this day. But we are concerned here with areas in Afghanistan where these coins have been found; Cunningham, *JASB*, 1881, pp. 169–82, 186, &c., and Schlumberger, loc. cit., pp. 46 ff.

[3] This appears to be clear not only from the 'taurine', 'caduceus', and other symbols which sometimes appear on 'owls', but from the coins bearing AIΓ instead of ΑΘΕ, which B. V. Head interprets as perhaps referring to the Aigloi, whom Herodotus, iii. 92, mentions as dwelling to the north of the Bactrians. Cf. also Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 387. Schlumberger (op. cit., p. 4), however, thinks that they denote some satrapal name.

[4] I have not included the satrapal coinage of the Achaemenids and such controversial issues as the double-darics, coins of Vakşuvar (?), Andragoras, &c., in this discussion, since they do not concern us directly.

[5] Cunningham, *NC*, 1866, pp. 220 ff.; *JASB*, 1881, pp. 169–82, 186, &c.; Gardner, *NC*, 1880, pp. 181 ff.; Howorth, *NC*, 1888, pp. 293 ff.; Hill, *BMC Persia, Mesopotamia, &c.*, pp. cxlviii ff.; Macdonald, *CHI*, pp. 386 ff.; Whitehead, *NC*, 1943, pp. 60 ff.; Schlumberger, pp. 4, 19 ff.

[6] The numismatic sequence of types is as follows: original Athenian 'owls' → imitation 'owls' including coins which bear the inscription AIΓ → smaller imitation 'owls' having 'taurine' and other symbols → 'eagles' → 'eagles' with

system of metrology which may have arisen from local custom and the exigencies of trade.

With the background of literary evidence, both Western and Indian, before us, and with the knowledge that the coins can ultimately be traced back to the Athenian 'owls' and other city-coins of the Greeks, it is reasonable to suggest that they are the surviving material remains of the Greeks settled in Afghanistan.[1] It is possible that these people played an adventurous part in the confused drama of the last days of the tottering Achaemenid empire, and that here and there satraps or peoples started minting their own coinage. At least one name, that of Sophytes,[2] is left to posterity. This ruler, whose name does not seem to be Greek, minted coins without any royal title, with his portrait on the obverse; this might be that of a Greek; the features are not those of an Indian. Sophytes may well have been an eastern satrap under Achaemenid rule, a Greek with the semblance of an Iranian name.[3]

The Greeks who were settled in eastern Iran must naturally have intermarried with the Iranians and other local elements of the population; hence the hybrid names and coin-types just mentioned. They were, in our opinion, much mixed with Iranian elements. Although they had not forgotten their traditions, they had probably to some extent identified themselves with the local Iranians in social and political life. When Alexander proceeded eastwards after the death of Darius III, they had already become an organized body, both socially and politically. Some of the cities inhabited by them and some of the Greco-Iranian chiefs may have welcomed Alexander, some to meet his pleasure and some destruction at his hands. The Western classical sources give the impression that many of the Greek settlers in these regions were

'caduceus' among other symbols (this is very clear on two unpublished specimens in the British Museum) → coins of Sophytes with cock and caduceus.

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 24–32.

[2] Cunningham, *NC*, 1866, pp. 220 ff.; Gardner, *BMC*, pp. xix–xx; Sylvain Levi, *JA*, 1890, pp. 237–9; Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 388; Whitehead, *NC*, 1943, pp. 60–72; J. N. Banerjea, *JNSI*, 1945, pp. 23–26; Narain, *JNSI*, 1949, pp. 93–99; Schlumberger, p. 29.

[3] It is possible that Acuphis, the name of the chief of the Greeks in Nysa, is another of the same type. That the Greeks took such Iranian names appears to be proved beyond doubt by the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradaman, dated A.D. 150 (*Ep. Ind.*, viii, pp. 36 ff.), which refers to a Greek king (*Yavanarāja*) who ruled the district as a viceroy of Aśoka in the third century B.C., and whose name, Tuṣāspha, is Iranian.

anti-Macedonian and were not happy at the treatment they received from Alexander and some of his generals. It is not surprising that some of the Greeks, who were already Greco-Iranians, made common cause with the Iranians, with whom, under the perpetual menace of the northern nomads and bordering powers, they constituted a sort of march state. It is no wonder that, like the Indians, they lost no time in throwing off their allegiance to Alexander. We are informed that the Greeks settled in the 'Upper Satrapies' were submissive through fear when Alexander was alive, but rose in revolt when he was dead. Pithon was sent by Perdiccas to quell them,[1] and Seleucus had to reconquer some of their territory and to lose some to Chandragupta Maurya.[2] Even then the successors of Alexander in the east could not control the Bactrian Greeks for more than two generations. Such were the people who dominated the country from the Oxus to the Indus for almost two centuries.

Tarn finds difficulty in accounting for the large number of Greeks in Bactria, and suggests that the early Seleucids must have encouraged settlements.[3] But there is no definite evidence of any such settlement on a large scale. The difficulty disappears if we agree that the 'Greeks' in Bactria were not Hellenistic Greeks, but mostly the descendants of earlier settlers, preserving their traditions but much intermixed with the Iranian peoples, and in some measure reinforced by newcomers.

Thus the people with whose history we are concerned included not only late arrivals on the scene, the veterans of Alexander or colonists of the Seleucids, but also many settlers from Greek cities of Asia who had dwelt in the region for some generations and who were generally anti-Macedonian. Further, their growth and the extension of their power would not have been possible were it not for the Iranian element which afforded them support and strength. In this work we use the terms Yavanas and Indo-Greeks as synonyms.

When Tarn wrote *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, he had the Middle East in his mind:

For in the history of India the episode of Greek rule has no meaning;

[1] Diodorus, xviii. 7.

[2] Seleucus reconquered Bactria but lost Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia, and Paropamisadae, *CHI*, p. 431; Strabo, xv. 1. 10. These latter provinces were ceded perhaps because among other reasons he thought it difficult to keep them under control.

[3] Tarn, p. 72.

it is really part of the history of Hellenism . . . for there were not four Hellenistic dynasties—Seleucids, Ptolemies, Antigonids, Attalids—but five, and on any showing the Euthydemids, both in the extent of their rule and in what they tried to do, were vastly more important than the Attalids. . . . The Greek empire of Bactria and India was a Hellenistic state . . . and its history was a branch of Seleucid history, just as the Euthydemid dynasty was on the distaff side a branch of the Seleucid line.[1]

This is a partial judgement, because the Hellenistic aspect is over-emphasized. The story of the Indo-Greeks has to be studied against two backgrounds. First, that of the decline of the Achaemenid empire in the east and the aftermath of Alexander's military career; and, second, that of the fall of the great central authority of the Mauryas in India.

By the first half of the fourth century B.C. under Artaxerxes II (404–359), large parts of the Achaemenid empire were asserting their independence.

The magnificent organisation of the empire by Darius the Great had merely earned for him the title of the 'shopkeeper' from the Persian nobility, and corruption and intrigue had reduced the greatest kingdom of antiquity to a huge unwieldy mass of states. . . . The corruption, however, had not spread across the Carmanian desert, and the Bactrians of the East, owing to their constant wars with the Scythians, and their great distance from Susa, retained in their far-off rugged country some of the virtues of the early Iranians of the days of Cyrus the Great.[2]

Then came Alexander. Persepolis was burnt; Darius Codomannus was murdered by his own officers. But again the unruly eastern Iran was not prepared to submit tamely to the victor. In fact 'eastern Iran was fighting a national war'.[3]

The experiment of leaving the eastern provinces under local satraps did not succeed. Alexander had appointed a certain Philip to govern both Bactria and Sogdiana. By the treaty of Triparadisus in 321 Philip was transferred to Parthia, and Stasanor, a Cypriot of Soli, was transferred from Aria and Drangiana to become satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana. Justin says that 'the government of Parthia was committed to Stasanor, a *foreign ally*, because none of the Macedonians would deign to accept it'.[4] It may well have been thought that a governor who was a *Greek*, not a *Macedonian*, was

[1] Tarn, Introduction, p. xx.

[2] H. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 34.

[3] Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, i. 61.

[4] Justin, xli. 4.

more likely to manage the restive Greek colonists.[1] Antigonus did not dare to disturb Stasanor in his satrapy, for had he been attacked he would have had many friends to fight in his support.[2] This must have added to the strength and resources of the Bactrian satrap.

Meanwhile the death of Alexander had unchained the conflicting ambitions of the 'Successors'. By 312 Seleucus had regained Babylon and later, as Alexander's successor in the east, he proceeded to take possession of his heritage. But Seleucus' eastern journey involved a reconquest and not merely an assertion of his right. He failed in India to the extent of ceding four satrapies, and when he wanted to reclaim Bactria he had to fight for it, since Stasanor had already declared himself independent. It seems that the Yavanas and the Iranian nobility were never really loyal to the Seleucids. The difficulty of holding the east was such that Seleucus made his son, Antiochus I, a joint-king to manage his eastern affairs. But the complicated struggles for power kept the attention of Seleucus and his successors directed towards the west, and before long the inhabitants of Bactria, Parthia, and other adjoining areas recognized the folly of paying tribute to a distant monarch who was incapable of enforcing respect or obedience. Bevan has rightly remarked that 'the new colonies in this region, being mainly composed of Greeks, had shown themselves impatient of Macedonian rule, and a leader who could play upon this national feeling could make himself very strong. Diodotus the Satrap, probably a non-Macedonian like his predecessor Stasanor and his successor Euthydemus, abjured allegiance to his Seleucid master and declared himself an independent king.'[3] A new power was born.

India had already shown signs of vigour in her resistance to Alexander, who could subdue the petty powers of the Panjab and Sind only after severe battles. No sooner had he left India than he heard the tidings of revolt and of the murder of Philip. When the trusted generals of Alexander were busy tearing one empire to pieces, a youthful Maurya laid the foundation of another. But this Maurya empire, too, which was so vigorously built by Candragupta (321–297) and so piously nourished by Aśoka (269–232), began to decline and was soon torn apart by centrifugal tendencies. Already, according to the generally accepted view, a son of Aśoka,

[1] E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, p. 277.
[2] Diodorus, xix. 48.
[3] E. R. Bevan, op. cit., pp. 286–7.

named Jalauka, had taken possession of Kashmir.[1] He is supposed to have crushed a horde of Mlecchas, and advanced as far as Kanauj.[2] It is difficult to agree with the view that these Mlecchas 'probably refer to the Bactrian Greeks',[3] for it seems unlikely that they penetrated as far as Kashmir at this time. Either Kalhaṇa, the twelfth-century author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, attributed a later Indo-Greek invasion to the time of Jalauka, or he made use of a tradition of a raid or incursion of some unknown tribes from the borders.[4] From the late and confused evidence of Tārānātha, Gandhara was apparently ruled by Vīrasena, another descendant of Aśoka;[5] and from Polybius we know that Antiochus III 'renewed his alliance with Sophagasenus, the Indian king'.[6] The common termination of the two names suggests that this Sophagasenus or Subhāgasena was a successor of Vīrasena.[7] The existence of an independent kingdom in north-west India before 206, and the evidence concerning defections in Gandhara and Kashmir, show that the Maurya empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Puṣyamitra.[8] If Kalhaṇa's account of Jalauka's advance as far as Kanauj[9] is correct, even though that conquest may only have been temporary, and if the local and tribal coins of northern India indicate the existence of free powers in western Uttar Pradesh and the areas adjoining it,[10] Puṣyamitra's coup cannot have resulted in the creation of a large empire either under him or his successors. The Śuṅgas, though in possession of some key centres of power, probably had neither the strength nor the resources to reclaim all parts of the Maurya empire, though Puṣyamitra's two *aśvamedhas* indicate that they

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, i. 107–8.
[2] Ibid. 115–17.
[3] R. K. Mookerji, *AIU*, p. 90.
[4] We should note that we have nothing to substantiate the contents of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, i. 107, about the *Mlecchas* in Kashmir during the time of Aśoka: *Mlecchaiḥ sañchādite deśe sa taducchittaye nṛpaḥ, Tapaḥ santoṣitāllebhe Bhūteśātsukṛti-sutam.*
[5] Anton Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 50–52.
[6] Polybius, xi. 39.
[7] Thomas, *IA*, 1875, p. 362; Smith, *EHI*⁴, p. 236; *CHI*, p. 512; K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 246; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*⁶, p. 350.
[8] Ibid., p. 362.
[9] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, i. 117; Smith, *EHI*, p. 201; Mookerji, op. cit., p. 90.
[10] Cf. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, under Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Pañcāla, Rājanya, Taxila, Tripurī, &c.; cf. also *infra*, pp. 90–91.

attempted it. But their success can have been but slight, for the few traces they have left are all associated with only three prominent administrative centres of the preceding kings, Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, and Vidiśā.[1]

Under such political conditions it was not surprising that the new power of the Bactrian Greeks should invade and occupy parts of the outlying provinces of the Maurya empire, Aria, Arachosia, and the Paropamisadae. Having consolidated their power the Greco-Bactrians attacked the Panjab. Still later, when they extended their rule as far as the Rāvī, they made occasional incursions even beyond the Beās without any permanent result; echoes of such attempts are left in the literary sources, both Indian and Western. Puṣyamitra ruled for thirty-six years (*c.* 184–148), and his reign appears to have been one of struggle and stress for the new dynasty. His position as the general of the last Maurya king may have helped him with the neighbouring local powers. But, about the time of Puṣyamitra's death, some of the latter combined to attack Pāṭaliputra, and the Indo-Greeks appear to have joined them.[2] Just when these Indo-Greeks were at the height of their power, their ambition was shattered by their internal feuds. And to make their plight worse the nomads, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Yüeh Chih or Kuṣāṇas, poured into India and spread in all directions, until the Indo-Greeks maintained only a precarious existence as a forlorn island amidst a sea of successive invaders and were gradually submerged.

Keeping all this in view, it becomes difficult to agree with Tarn's claim that the history of the Indo-Greeks is an essential part of Hellenistic history.[3] There is a definite connexion with Seleucid history inasmuch as Bactria was administratively a geographical unit under the Seleucids until it broke away. But its rulers did not look back to the Seleucids or to the Greek world in the Middle East for inspiration and help, and they never cared to meddle in the struggles of the Hellenistic powers. The new state of Bactria cannot be regarded as a succession state of Alexander's empire; it developed from the revolt of a governor who had the backing of the people. It did not come to Diodotus or Euthydemus as a heritage, nor was its independence the result of the family policies of

[1] The evidence of the *Divyāvadāna* about Sāgala is doubtful; cf. *infra*, pp. 87–88.

[2] Cf. Chapter IV.

[3] Tarn, Introduction, p. xx.

the successor-generals of Alexander. Bactria became independent in the same way as Parthia and possibly other areas close to it. Once the Yavanas stood upon their own feet their isolation prevented them from planting new Greek settlements in their kingdom as the Seleucids did in the Middle East. The constitution of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms was not the same as that of the Hellenistic states of the Middle East and their kings did not share the outlook of the Seleucids or the Ptolemies. Bactria was not a 'fifth Hellenistic state', much less the little Yavana kingdoms in India. Moreover, whereas in countries like Syria and Egypt there was no break in the continuity of Greek domination after the death of Alexander, in India there was the intervening Maurya period between his death and the rise of the Indo-Greeks. The Indo-Greeks were more influenced by Indian religion and thought than any Hellenistic king by the faith and ideas of the land in which he lived and ruled. Tarn agrees that no Seleucid ever put Iranian or Babylonian legends on his coinage, no Ptolemy ever used Egyptian, but the Indo-Greeks introduced Indian legends in Indian scripts on their money. Their history is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states; they came, they saw, but India conquered.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF GRECO-BACTRIAN POWER

THE birth of the new kingdom of Bactria was an event fraught with momentous consequences for India's immediate future, for Bactria was the fertile and rich country between the Oxus and the Hindu-Kush; Strabo, quoting Aristobulus and earlier writers, has emphasized the importance of the Oxus region in India's trade with the West.[1]

The details of Bactria's achievement of independence are shrouded in darkness and the sources are confused. The work of Apollodorus, which might have given us reliable information, is unfortunately lost. Trogus and Strabo appear to have drawn on him copiously, and we know from them that a certain Diodotus rebelled against Antiochus II and established his independence in Bactria.[2] While describing the rise of Parthia and the course of Parthian history, Justin gives some incidental information by way of synchronism and similitude.[3]

> After his [Antigonus'] death they ['the Parthians with other peoples of Upper Asia'] were under the rule of Seleucus Nicator, and then under Antiochus and his successors, from whose great-grandson Seleucus they first revolted, in the first Punic War, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls. . . . At the same period, also, Theodotus,[4] governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and assumed the title of king, and all the other people of the East, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians. One Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin . . . overthrew Andragoras . . . and, after putting him to death, took upon himself the government of the country. Not long after, too, he made himself master of Hyrcania and thus, invested with authority over the nations, raised a large army through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus, king of the Bactrians. But being soon relieved of his fears by the death of Theodotus, and, not long after, engaging with king Seleucus, who came to take vengeance on the rebels, he obtained a

[1] Strabo, xi. 7. 3.

[2] Trogus, xli, 'in Bactrianis autem rebus, ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est', and Strabo, xi. 9. 2–3.

[3] Justin, xli. 4.

[4] A mistake for Diodotus.

> victory; and the Parthians observe the day on which it was gained with great solemnity as the date of the commencement of their liberty.

It would appear from this passage (i) that Bactria rebelled earlier than Parthia, (ii) that the Parthians observed with great solemnity the day of their independence, and (iii) that before the Parthian victory over the Seleucids the first Diodotus had died and the Parthians had made peace with Diodotus II.

Strabo[1] tells us that 'those who had been entrusted with their government first caused the revolt of Bactriana and of all the country near it . . . and then Arsaces . . . invaded Parthia . . .'; and also '. . . when in flight from the enlarged power of Diodotus and his followers he [Arsaces] caused Parthia to revolt'.[2] Strabo supposes that Arsaces was a Bactrian under Diodotus, and that he fomented the revolt of Parthia through discontent with his Greek master.

Although the chronology of early Parthian history is controversial, it is generally believed that Parthia revolted in the year 250[3] and that the Parthian era started in 248–247 B.C.,[4] whatever might have been the occasion for it.[5] Another important date, that of Seleucus II's invasion of Parthia, is said to have fallen not earlier than 238.[6]

With the help of these three dates it may be deduced that Bactria rebelled before 250 and that by 238 the Parthians had not only made an alliance with Diodotus II but had also strengthened their power by annexing Hyrcania.[7] Hyrcania must have been conquered after his alliance with Diodotus II rid Arsaces of the fear of Bactria.

In order to arrive at the correct date of the Parthian revolt, it was suggested by St-Martin[8] that Justin confounded two distinct

[1] Strabo, xi. 9. 2.

[2] Ibid. xi. 9. 3.

[3] G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 44; Cunningham *CASE*, p. 80; Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, pp. xviii–xix; Tarn, *CAH*, ix. 575; Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 9.

[4] Since the discovery of a double-dated tablet by G. Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 389) it is almost definitely settled. Cf. Debevoise, loc. cit.; Tarn, *CAH*, ix. 576.

[5] Gardner, *The Parthian Coinage* (International Numismata Orientalia), Pt. V, p. 3 (represents the date of the revolt); Tarn, *CAH*, loc. cit. (coronation of Tiridates I), cf. Debevoise, loc. cit..

[6] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 440; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 285 ff.

[7] Justin, xli. 4.

[8] *Teste* Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 79.

dates, that of the commencement of Seleucus II's reign and that of the two consuls mentioned above. Seleucus II began to reign in 246[1] and the two consuls functioned in 256 B.C.[2] The Parthian era starts before Seleucus II's accession, and the date of the consuls mentioned by Justin appears to be too early to synchronize with the Parthian revolt. It has therefore been suggested that Justin made a mistake in the names of the consuls: in place of Marcus Atilius Regulus we should read Caius Atilius Regulus, who was consul-elect with L. Manlius Vulso in 250.[3] It would appear more probable, from the context of the passage quoted, that Justin confused the date of the Parthian revolt with that of Bactrian independence.[4] If so, it may well be that Diodotus broke away in 256 B.C., the fifth year of the reign of Antiochus II.[5] The political circumstances of the time were very congenial to such defections, and a king as worthless and contemptible as Antiochus could have hardly inspired respect or fear. Tarn's[6] very late dating of the Diodoti is based on the assumption of matrimonial relations connecting them with the Seleucids and the Euthydemids, for which there is no good evidence. Newell has very ably shown from the numismatic evidence that the break-away of Bactria from the Seleucids is to be placed in 256–255 B.C., 'however abrupt the political transition may (or may not) have been'.[7]

It was suggested by Macdonald[8] and supported by Tarn[9] that the revolt of Diodotus was not sudden, but that the numismatic evidence indicates his gradual rise to power and independence.

[1] Bevan, op. cit., pp. 179, 189 ff.

[2] T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. i (New York, 1951), p. 208.

[3] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 80.

[4] H. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 57, noticed this possible confusion but also assumed the mistake in the name of the consul and so gave the date as 250; the phrase *eodem tempore* of Justin led scholars to regard Bactrian independence as almost contemporary with the Parthian revolt; but this phrase does not necessarily indicate the exact synchronism of the two events, but may imply a longer duration, especially when referring to events long past. We have, therefore, translated the phrase in the passage quoted above as 'in the same period', which implies a lapse of a few years between the two events.

[5] G. Rawlinson *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 39 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *CAH*, vii. 159; McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 67; Newell, *ESM*, p. 249, but see also his *WSM*, p. 388.

It was also accepted by the very early writers on this subject such as Bayer, *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, p. 38; Lassen, *JASB*, 1840, p. 668.

[6] Tarn, pp. 73 ff.

[7] Newell, *ESM*, p. 245. [8] *CHI*, pp. 435–7. [9] Tarn, pp. 72–74.

They thought that the Diodotus coins belong to the second Diodotus, and that the monograms which resolve into ΔΙΟ, and which are variously represented as [monograms], &c., on certain Seleucid coins of both Antiochus I and II, stand for the name of the first Diodotus when he was reaching out towards independence. Though it is usually believed that monograms in general stand either for a mint or a moneyer, the alternative interpretation in this case has been supported by reference to Aspeisas, satrap of Susiana, and Nicocles, King of Paphos, who put their names on the coinage of Alexander with results disastrous to themselves.[1] This view is most unconvincing, and the examples given by Tarn do not apply. Both Aspeisas and Nicocles put their full names and not their monograms on their coins.[2] Moreover, it is not likely that Diodotus knew about the coins of Aspeisas of Susiana and Nicocles of Paphos; and even if he did, their example would hardly encourage him to imitate them. We should also note certain coins of Antiochus I of the 'Horned horse' type, where we find the letters ΑΒΙΔ,[3] which, Gardner suggested, may represent some otherwise unknown satrap or semi-independent ruler of Bactria.[4] These coins also bear the monogram Δ. They can hardly be regarded as the simultaneous issue of Diodotus and another satrap Abidbelus.[5] There is no sufficient reason to reject the usual theory that these monograms are those of moneyers or mints. The monograms illustrated above are found on many Seleucid coins, including some issues of Seleucus I and Antiochus III.[6] If they represent the name of Diodotus we must assume that he was appointed a satrap as early as the time of Seleucus I, and that he struck coins in three successive reigns, all the time trying to break away from the Seleucid overlords; this is impossible.

Once we reject the idea that the monograms represent his name, the view that Diodotus gradually seceded from the Seleucid empire can find no support whatever; his breakaway was abrupt, because,

[1] Ibid., p. 73.

[2] Newell, *NC*, 1919, pp. 64 ff.; and Robinson, *NC*, 1921, pp. 37 ff.

[3] Newell, *ESM*, pp. 240–1, Pl. LIII, 3; Gardner, *NC*, 1880, p. 190.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Six, *NC*, 1898, pp. 231 ff.

[6] Newell, *ESM*, pp. 231–3, 211–12 (of Ecbatana mint); cf. also Gardner, *BMC Seleucid*, pp. 1, 4, 6, 26, 29, &c.

The monogram [monogram] also occurs on the coins of 'head of Zeus and biga or quadriga of elephants' type, bearing the names of both Seleucus and Antiochus, *NC*, 1906, Pl. II. 11–14.

as Justin clearly indicates, it was a simple revolt with no special features to distinguish it from the similar rebellions of governors of outlying provinces, which were common enough in many periods of ancient history.

The coins of the Diodotus series have two distinct portraits: one of an older face with a trace of double chin, and the other definitely younger with more angular features.[1] They cannot be the same person at different ages. The older face is obviously that of Diodotus I, the founder of the Bactrian kingdom, because coins bearing this portrait are linked by identical reverse dies with the coins of Antiochus II, issued in the beginning of Diodotus I's reign.[2] Many scholars have assumed that since the portrait on our coins tends to grow younger, it belongs to that of the younger Diodotus.[3] Newell has rightly noted that this appearance of youthfulness is illusory; certainly the man who appears on the first of these coins in Pl. LII. 5–6 of his *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, is not a youth, and he considers him to be the elder Diodotus; but he does not admit any of the portraits as that of his son.[4] He thinks that the son 'continued to use his father's portrait, which exhibited a constant tendency to grow younger and more idealised as time went on'.[5] To us, however, they are clearly two distinct portraits; and we have no grounds to believe that coin portraits were idealized in this early period; at any rate those on the coins of Diodotus are evidently realistic portraits and not idealized types.[6]

Thus we have reason to believe that a certain Diodotus rebelled in Bactria in the very beginning of Antiochus' reign, that is, *c.* 256 B.C. He took liberties with the coins of the latter, imitating them, but substituting sometimes his name and sometimes his portrait for those of Antiochus. Since the portraits of both the Diodoti are found on the series in which the name of Antiochus continues,[7] and

[1] Compare the specimens in Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LII, Nos. 5–7, 10–11, 15–16, 18–19; also the commemorative medals struck by Antimachus (Cunningham, *CASE*, Pl. I. 5) and by Agathocles (*BMC*, Pl. IV. 2, *CASE*, Pl. II. 1).

[2] Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII. 4 and 5.

[3] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 437; Tarn, p. 73.

[4] Newell, *ESM*, p. 248. Tarn, in Addenda, p. 523, remarks, 'this removes an old difficulty', but he does not make any modification in his theory.

[5] Newell, *ESM*, p. 248.

[6] Cf. also Trever, p. 116, '. . . whoever engraved the die, whether Greek or Bactrian—this portrait is the work of a great artist'.

[7] Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII, Nos. 6, 7, 10 for Diodotus I, and Pl. LIII. Nos. 11, 15 for Diodotus II.

since it appears from Justin that the son of Diodotus I was on the throne before the Parthian era started,[1] it is more than probable that Diodotus II succeeded his father in *c.* 248, before Antiochus II died, and at first followed the practice of his father in issuing coins with the name of Antiochus. Both father and son also struck money with their own name, type, and portrait complete.[2]

We do not know much about the career and achievements of the Diodoti. They are known as the rulers of the 'thousand cities of Bactria', but their kingdom is also supposed to have included Margiana and Sogdiana. Strabo says that, when the Greeks got possession of the country of Bactriana, they divided it into satrapies of which that of Turiva and that of Aspionus were taken from Eucratides by the Parthians, and that they held Sogdiana also.[3] The satrapies of Turiva and Aspionus must have been in Margiana, which bordered on Parthia.[4] The provenance of their coins also confirms this extent of the Diodotan kingdom.

Diodotus I had undoubtedly assumed the royal prerogative, and with his increased power it is not improbable that he took the title of Soter; the coins with the legend ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ were issued by him.[5] There is nothing to support the theory of Macdonald that they are commemorative medals issued by Demetrius.[6] They bear neither the name of Demetrius nor any other feature of later Indo-Greek commemorative medals. Even the die-adjustment ↑↑ is not evidence for a date later than Diodotus, as has been argued by Macdonald, for we have noticed this arrangement on some coins of Diodotus himself.[7] The portrait on this coin[8] cannot be that of Diodotus II, who is represented on his

[1] *Supra*, p. 13.

[2] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 98, Pl. I. These specimens are now in the BM. They do not seem to be forgeries, as von Sallet, pp. 20, 88, once believed. Cf. also Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxi. The portraits on them are similar to the elderly ones on the coins bearing the name of Antiochus, cf. Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII; see also Pl. I, Nos. 1 and 3.

[3] Strabo, xi. 11. 2.

[4] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 115.

[5] Cunningham (op. cit., p. 98, Pl. I) regarded them as issues of Diodotus II since he considered all the elderly portraits as belonging to him. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 10, has listed them under the Diodotus series, and has not attempted to discriminate between the two kings of the same name.

[6] Macdonald, *CHI*, pp. 440, 451, also Tarn, pp. 73, 201.

[7] Two specimens in Maj.-Gen. H. L. Haughton's collection and also in BM. It is difficult to make any major point on the basis of die adjustments unless of course a very large number of coins are personally examined.

[8] See Pl. I. 2.

own money as a young man; and hence it must be that of Diodotus I, who perhaps took the title 'Soter' because he considered himself the saviour of the Greeks in Bactria. It is not surprising that the Parthians feared the might of Diodotus I, and that when he died they hastened to make an alliance with his son. Such an alliance was in the interest of both the new kingdoms. On the one hand, it gave them mutual security, and, on the other, strength to meet any possible attempt at reassertion of power by the Seleucids; such an attempt was in fact made, but was unsuccessful. There is nothing to substantiate the suggestion that Diodotus I, a rebel, in the murder of whose descendants Euthydemus I took pride when he met Antiochus III,[1] was given a Seleucid princess in marriage[2]—a princess of whose existence there is no evidence and whose name has yet to be discovered. Diodotus II appears to have so consolidated his power that it was beyond the strength of Seleucus II to re-establish Seleucid hegemony over Bactria and Sogdiana, even after his initial success in Parthia. Once Parthia also regained power, any such attempt was out of question for more than a quarter of a century, until in *c.* 210–208 B.C. we find Antiochus III opposing Euthydemus I and yet, for all his might, compelled to acknowledge him as king in Bactria.

It would appear from the portrait on his coins that Diodotus II could not have ruled more than fifteen years, and he must, therefore, have died *c.* 235. From the evidence of Polybius it would seem that he met a violent end at the hands of Euthydemus I.[3]

Besides the gold staters and the silver money[4] the Diodoti struck coins in copper. The copper types are: 'Head of Zeus and Artemis'[5] and 'Head of king wearing flat "kausia" and Pallas standing'.[6] Both these types bear the names of Diodotus. There is another coin in copper, 'Head of Hermes wearing "petasus" and crossed "caducei"'[7] but bearing the name of Antiochus. Like the other coins in gold and silver this appears to be an issue of the Diodoti struck in Bactria.[8]

[1] Polybius, xi. 39.
[2] Tarn, p. 73: that Antiochus II married his daughter to Diodotus.
[3] Polybius, xi. 39.
[4] The type of the gold stater and the silver money is the same, i.e. 'diademed head of king and Zeus standing hurling thunderbolt', cf. *PMC*, Pl. I. 1, 2. Cf. Appendix III for the coin-types.
[5] *BMC*, Pl. I. 9. [6] *PMC*, Pl. I. 4; Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII.
[7] Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII. 9. There is one in the Haughton collection.
[8] Ibid., p. 246.

The choice of Zeus as the main type of the reverse suits the name of Diodotus, 'the gift of Zeus'. It may be that, as Trever has suggested,[1] on breaking away from the Seleucids, Diodotus called on the greatest of the gods to help him, and the figure of Zeus wielding the thunderbolt may have been intended to intimidate his enemies. It is possible that Artemis may represent the Anahita of Bactria. Trever has surmised that the figure of Zeus was engraved not by a Greek but by a local craftsman.[2]

Thus the Diodoti laid the foundation of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. But the growth and consolidation of their power was largely due to the achievements of Euthydemus and his son Demetrius. According to Polybius[3] Euthydemus belonged to Magnesia. There are two Magnesias—the Ionian and the Lydian. Cunningham,[4] Gardner,[5] and Tarn[6] favour the former as the origin of Euthydemus, but on the basis of coin types Macdonald[7] and Newell[8] agree that he originally belonged to the Lydian city Magnesia *ad* Sipylum.

Euthydemus could not have been a mere soldier of fortune. Whether he was a brother of Diodotus[9] or a nobleman of Bactria[10] it is difficult to say; but it is not improbable that he was a satrap or a high-ranking military official under Diodotus II. de la Vallée Poussin[11] and Grousset[12] make him a satrap of Sogdiana, and Cunningham thought that he was a satrap of Aria and Margiana.[13] We know from Polybius that Euthydemus fought a battle against Antiochus III on the banks of the Arius river, and thus there may be some truth in Cunningham's suggestion. If the testimony of Polybius is to be believed, 'after others had revolted he possessed himself of the throne of Bactria by destroying their descendants'.[14] Although 'descendants' would imply more than one individual, in default of evidence it has been assumed that Euthydemus succeeded to the Bactrian throne by killing Diodotus II. Tarn believed that Euthydemus was acting in the Seleucid interest and in that of Hellenism by doing so, because of Diodotus' alliance with the

[1] Trever, p. 115. [2] Ibid. [3] Polybius, xi. 39.
[4] *CASE*, p. 145. [5] *BMC*, p. xxi. [6] Tarn, pp. 74–75.
[7] *CHI*, p. 440. [8] *WSM*, p. 274.
[9] *Ancient Universal History: History of Bactria*, iii. 846, *teste* Tod, *Transactions of the First RAS*, 1827, p. 321.
[10] Lewis, *Parthian Empire*, p. 21, *teste* Tod, loc. cit.
[11] *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 233.
[12] *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, i. 53.
[13] *CASE*, p. 134. [14] Polybius, xi. 39.

Parthians. But personal ambition is a sufficient motive. His plea to Antiochus III, of which we shall read below, was probably a pretext. Since there is no evidence for Diodotus' marriage with a Seleucid princess, the view that Euthydemus married a daughter born of her[1] is even more doubtful.

It may be more than coincidence that almost at the same time as Euthydemus established his authority in Bactria Aśoka died in India. We have already seen what happened after the death of Aśoka.[2] From about 235 B.C., when Euthydemus achieved power, until the march of Antiochus III against him in 208, we know little about his career. It is not improbable that he was among those who tried to feed upon the carcass of the dead Mauryan empire. It is likely that Antiochus III, who had probably not forgotten his heritage which was lost to Candragupta about a hundred years before, was also watching carefully the events in the outlying provinces of the Mauryan empire. It appears, therefore, that, when he won victories over the Parthian king, whose name was apparently Artabanus (I),[3] he intended not only to reclaim in that process the suzerainty over Bactria, but also to conquer whatever portions of the Mauryan empire he could.

Euthydemus was already in possession of Aria. His encounter with Antiochus III is described in detail by Polybius.[4] The high road to Bactria crossed the river Arius (modern Hari-rud). Euthydemus had left a large body of his excellent Bactrian cavalry, 10,000 strong,[5] to defend the fords. But, taking great risks, and with a rapid advance reminding us of those of Alexander, Antiochus was able to throw the major part of his select troops across before he was discovered at daybreak by the opposing cavalry, which had retired from the bank during the night. In the ensuing engagement Euthydemus tried and failed to hold the lower Arius, and withdrew upon his capital Zariaspa (Bactra), where he withstood a two years' siege, a famous episode which popular historians loved to embroider. It became clear to both parties that it was in their mutual interest to come to some compromise, and Euthydemus shrewdly employed the offices of a certain Teleas, a fellow countryman, to initiate the negotiations, and he emphasized the need for

[1] Tarn, p. 73. [2] *Supra*, pp. 8–10.
[3] Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 16.
[4] Polybius, x. 49, xxix. 12. 8.
[5] Some exaggeration in the number is possible.

peace by stressing the danger from nomads. It was this common danger that helped Euthydemus to come to an agreement with Antiochus, who wisely retired and promised to marry his daughter to Demetrius, a son of Euthydemus. We have no definite statement that the marriage took place. Euthydemus was left at peace in his kingdom, but had to surrender elephants to Antiochus. Polybius does not tell us that Euthydemus acknowledged Seleucid suzerainty,[1] but, according to Tarn, this is 'the one thing which matters', and as 'the first overtures toward peace came from him, and he surrendered his elephants, probably he did, though it soon became a dead letter'.[2] After his unprofitable encounter with Euthydemus, Antiochus III crossed the Hindu Kush and met 'Sophagasenus, king of the Indians', in the Kabul valley, with whom the Seleucid king 'renewed his alliance' and in return received more elephants.[3] Having traversed Arachosia and Drangiana, Antiochus III reached Carmania.[4]

It is impossible to say who was the king of Arachosia at this time. 'It had once been Aśoka. Now it may have been Sophagasenus. The numismatic evidence suggests that ere long it was Euthydemus.'[5] Polybius says that it was this expedition, in fact, which made Antiochus III appear worthy of his throne. We know that, if coins can tell us anything, not long after Antiochus III left the scene Euthydemus and his son Demetrius occupied some of the Mauryan provinces in the west; but in the Paropamisadae Sophagasenus or his successors may have continued to rule for some time, strengthened by the alliance with Antiochus III. Thus Arachosia and Drangiana were now added to the kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks, which already included Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, and Margiana. We shall see below whether these conquests in southern Afghanistan, and also other conquests towards Ferghana, which are suggested by some evidence, were due to Euthydemus or to his successors.

Probably Euthydemus did not rule for more than a few years after the departure of Antiochus III in 206. We do not know how the common belief gained ground that he died *c.* 190 B.C.;[6] there

[1] Polybius, xi. 39. [2] Tarn, p. 82.
[3] Polybius, xi. 39. Cf. Lassen (*JASB*, 1840, p. 671): 'The Indian king apparently engaged in this league as a protection from Euthydemus, whose power had already manifested itself in the south of the Caucasus.'
[4] Polybius, loc. cit. [5] *CHI*, p. 442.
[6] *CHI*, p. 444; Tarn, p. 82.

is no basis on which to synchronize his death with the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. Obviously the war in the far west has no bearing on the death of a king in the east, although it may have indirectly affected the expansion of Greco-Bactrian power in certain directions. However, if he succeeded in Bactria *c.* 235, Euthydemus may have been fifty or more when he met Antiochus III in 208, and, since the oldest portraits on his coins do not suggest an age of more than sixty,[1] it is fairly certain that he died about 200. Demetrius, his son, who was a young man (*νεανίσκος*)[2] of twenty or twenty-five[3] in 206 B.C., must have been about thirty when his father died.[4] Whether Euthydemus had other sons is doubtful; the literary tradition has given us only Demetrius.[5] Tarn has thought of Antimachus and Apollodotus as other possibilities[6] which we shall discuss later;[7] it will suffice to say here that this supposition is not convincing. But the case for a Euthydemus II may be considered.

There are tetradrachms and smaller denominations of silver bearing the name of Euthydemus, which have on the obverse a youthful bust with draped shoulders, and on the reverse a standing Heracles to front with a wreath in his extended right hand.[8] Most of the older numismatists, including Cunningham,[9] considered these coins to belong to the same Euthydemus who also issued the seated Heracles type. But an alternative suggestion, based on stylistic considerations, was made by von Sallet[10] and Burgon[11] to the effect that these coins were struck by a second Euthydemus, a son of Demetrius. This theory was generally accepted by later writers[12] and was re-stated by Macdonald,[13] though Whitehead had earlier entered a note of caution.[14] The coins of a Euthydemus which bear the standing Heracles on the reverse have a remarkable individuality of style. Apart from the portrait, which does not at all fit in the series of portraits, rather varying, of Euthydemus, whose coins bear the seated Heracles type, the coins of this new king appear to represent Heracles in a singular way which is not typic-

[1] See Pl. I. 4.
[2] Polybius, xi. 39.
[3] Cf. Tarn for his estimate, p. 73.
[4] Cf. also, Macdonald, *CHI*, pp. 444–5.
[5] Polybius, xi. 39; Strabo, xi. 11. 1–2.
[6] Tarn, pp. 75 ff.
[7] *Infra*, Chs. III and V.
[8] *BMC*, Pl. III. 3, 4; *PMC*, Pl. I. 27, 28; *CHI*, Pl. III. 4.
[9] *CASE*, pp. 130, 145.
[10] von Sallet, p. 92.
[11] *Teste CHI*, p. 448; *NC*, 1862, pp. 262–4.
[12] Gardner, *BMC*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.
[13] Macdonald, *CHI*, pp. 447–8.
[14] *PMC*, p. 10.

ally Greek,[1] though it recurs on the coins of Zoilus I.[2] We may, therefore, believe that there were two Euthydemi. But there are no substantial grounds for regarding Euthydemus II as of a later generation than Demetrius or as Demetrius' son; we feel inclined to take him as another son of Euthydemus I, probably younger than Demetrius. The types of Demetrius and Euthydemus II would then indicate that the old Heracles,[3] who on the coins of old Euthydemus I was seated as if after his labours, stands up with fresh vigour to conquer new lands,[4] and, as we shall see below, this supposition may also explain the nickel coins issued by Euthydemus II.

Tarn is probably right when he says that, after the departure of Antiochus III, Euthydemus I began to develop his kingdom in such directions as were open to him without inviting a fresh attack by the Seleucid;[5] actually Antiochus III was the last Seleucid aggressor in the east.[6] On the evidence of Strabo,[7] quoting Apollodorus, Tarn thought that some time subsequent to 206 Euthydemus occupied the Parthian satrapies of Astauene and Apavarktikene and perhaps part of Parthyene, which became the Bactrian satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiane.[8] But the relevant passage in Strabo only says that 'the Greeks took possession of it and divided it into satrapies, of which the satrapy of Turiva and that of Aspionus were taken away from Eucratides by the Parthians'.[9] It is not stated clearly that these satrapies were conquered by Euthydemus.

While discussing his conquests in southern Afghanistan and eastern Iran, Tarn writes that Demetrius annexed to his kingdom Aria, Arachosia, and Seistan.[10] Euthydemus first met Antiochus III on the river Arius,[11] and it is probable that Aria was already occupied by the former. That Demetrius conquered Arachosia seems to be certain; Isidore of Charax mentions the city of Demetrias in Arachosia.[12] Tarn is right in saying that Euthydemus must

[1] Trever, p. 130.
[2] *PMC*, Pl. VII. 524, 525.
[3] Trever, p. 117, notes that the Heracles on the rev. ages with the portrait of Euthydemus on the obv.
[4] Cf. also Tarn, p. 93. About Demetrius' type, 'the new king envisaged fresh labour and conquests'.
[5] Tarn, p. 83.
[6] Cf. *infra*, pp. 56–57. There is no evidence of any attempt made by Antiochus IV. Cf. also Altheim, i. 21–23, ii. 40, 53–55.
[7] Strabo, xi. 7. 3, xi. 11. 2–3.
[8] Tarn, p. 88.
[9] Strabo, xi. 11. 2.
[10] Tarn, p. 93.
[11] *Supra*, p. 20.
[12] *Parthian Stations*, pp. 8 ff.

have been dead before the attack was made, otherwise Demetrias in Arachosia would have been named Euthydemia.[1] It is possible that expansion in these directions in the south took place in about 190 B.C. when it was clear that Antiochus III was too much involved in his own affairs to interfere; it need not necessarily have followed his defeat in the battle of Magnesia in 189. The claim to Seistan is, however, not very explicit. But for a few scattered coins of Euthydemus and Demetrius we have little evidence to support it.[2] Tarn's reference to Justin xli. 6. 3 for a list of the provinces taken by Eucratides from the Euthydemid sub-kings[3] is misleading because there seems to be no such list. Justin only says that the Bactrians, harassed with various wars, lost not only their dominions, but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Arachosians, the Drangians, the Arians, and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians.[4] If the word 'Drangians' denotes some areas in Seistan we might feel, taking into consideration the few coins that have been found there, that it was included in the Greco-Bactrian kingdom during the period of the sons of Euthydemus I. We must also note that the coin-types of both Euthydemus and Demetrius were used by the early Scytho-Parthian kings of Arachosia.[5] We agree with Tarn that Demetrias in Arachosia was situated somewhere between Seistan and Ghazni,[6] as is evident from Isidore's account.

Demetrius certainly never conquered Carmania, but it is possible that he held the eastern part of Gedrosia.[7] The idea that it was governed not from Demetrias in Arachosia but from Demetrias in Sind is rejected by Tarn because of the doubtful evidence for the latter city.[8] Some coins of early Indo-Greek kings have been found in Baluchistan,[9] but they are not sufficient to confirm the occupation of a portion of that region.

[1] Tarn, p. 93. [2] Rapson, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 673–80.
[3] Tarn, pp. 93, fn. 4; 199, fns. 3, 4.
[4] Justin, xli. 6. 3: 'Bactriani . . . Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangarum et Areorum Indorumque bellis fatigati ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis . . . oppressi sunt.' In some editions, however, 'Arachotorum' and 'Areorum' are omitted.
[5] *PMC*, Pl. XIV. 379, 385–6. Cf. also *infra*. p. 160.
[6] Tarn, p. 94. [7] Ibid., p. 93.
[8] Ibid., pp. 93–94; Addenda, pp. 524, 526. Cf. also Johnston, *JRAS*, 1939, p. 217; 1940, p. 189; *contra* Tarn, *JRAS*, 1940, p. 129.
[9] Rapson, *NC*, 1940, pp. 319–21.

To the northward, with Sogdiana already in their hands, if we are to believe, with Strabo,[1] the statement of Apollodorus, the Greeks of Bactria 'extended their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni'. It would be difficult to believe that the Seres and the Phryni of Apollodorus denote areas or peoples east of a line drawn from Kashgar to Tashkurgan.[2]

But does the statement of Apollodorus imply that the Greeks occupied these areas? If they did we have hardly any evidence for it. It is interesting to note that in the Śaka documents in Kharoṣṭhī found in Chinese Turkestan the word *Yonu* or *Yona*[3] (= *Yavana*) is used as a proper name, and two words for coins, *satera* (*sadera*, *s(r)adera*)[4] and *trakhme* (*drakhme*),[5] occur repeatedly, and must stand for the Greek 'stater' and 'drachme'. A word *milima* is also thought to be of Greek origin, derived from μέδιμνος (bushel).[6] We cannot suppose that these words were brought by traders from Roman Asia in Imperial times, for it is impossible that they could have used the word "stater".[7] It is very probable that these words passed into Chinese Turkestan from India in the course of trade, and were used by Indian merchants settled in these areas as early as the latter part of the first century B.C.[8] No Greek stater and for that matter no drachms of early Greek kings have been found there. With the exception of a few gold pieces of Eucratides and Menander, no Indo-Greek kings later than Euthydemus are known to have struck staters;[9] but the word survived as a measure of weight, and is so used in some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of India,[10] and the symbols of all the three coins stater, drachm, and obol, are given in a silver saucer inscription from Taxila.[11] However, on the

[1] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
[2] For further discussion of the identification of Seres and Phryni see Appendix II, p. 170–1.
[3] Thomas, *JRAS*, 1924, p. 672; Boyer, Rapson, Senart, *Stein's Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 15, No. 46; p. 29, No. 79; p. 50, No. 129; p. 79, No. 204.
[4] Thomas, op. cit., p. 671; *JRAS*, 1926, p. 507; Boyer, Rapson, Senart, op. cit., p. 15, No. 43; p. 118, No. 324; p. 150, No. 419.
[5] Thomas, loc. cit.; Boyer, Rapson, Senart, loc. cit.
[6] Thomas, *JRAS*, 1930, p. 204; Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 1935, p. 785.
[7] Tarn, p. 85.
[8] Stein, *Asia Major*, *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, 1923, pp. 367–72.
[9] Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 105.
[10] Konow, *CII*, No. xxxvii. 3 and 4 (pp. 98–99); also Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, vi, 1928, p. 255.
[11] *ASR*, 1929–30, p. 62, no. 46, and p. 63; Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 157, 188.

basis of two occurrences of the word παρεμβολή,[1] 'camp', Tarn thinks that, since this word points to Greek military occupation rather than to trade, it is probable that the coin-names are survivals of Euthydemus' conquest,[2] though he admits it is not possible to prove this point. We are not inclined to believe in such an extension of Greek power only on the grounds of two occurrences of a word in literature separated by about five centuries from the actual time of that event.[3] Tomaschek once argued that the dissemination of the vine in central Asia is connected with Macedonian Greek rule over these parts,[4] but Laufer remarked that this is decidedly wrong, for the vine grows throughout northern Iran, and vine-culture is certainly older in these areas than in Greece.[5] He also noted that nothing Greek has yet been found in any manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan.[6] Apart from the absence of Indo-Greek coins, even the early Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins do not reflect any Greek influence. Not until Ch'ang Ch'ien reached Ferghana did he meet people who wished to make contact with the Chinese, and this clearly shows that all the regions east of Ferghana were closed lands to the Western peoples before the time of Ch'ang Ch'ien's visit.[7] Tarn postulated these conquests apparently to account for the gold supply.[8] But this hypothesis is unnecessary, since the Indo-Greeks, and for that matter all the Greeks in the Middle East, used little gold money; and what need they had of gold they could probably meet without looking towards Siberia. Chinese literature knows of four kinds of foreign silver and five kinds of foreign gold; the gold of Persia is mentioned, and gold dust is specially attributed to the country of the Arabs.[9] In India gold was produced in the south, and the early literature shows that it was well known in the north, but it was not needed for coinage[10] until the time of the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas, when gold coinage became popular, perhaps on account of Roman trade. Keeping these facts in view the utmost we can justifiably say is that the Greeks of Bactria may have conquered some districts beyond Sog-

[1] *Acta Orientalia*, XIV. ii. 109.
[2] Tarn, pp. 86 ff.
[3] T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), Introduction, p. v.
[4] *Journal of China Branch RAS*, xiv. 5, 19; also Hirth, *JAOS*, xxxvii (1917), 146.
[5] Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 226.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Hirth, p. 94.
[8] Tarn, pp. 104 ff., where the whole question of the gold route has been discussed at length.
[9] Laufer, op. cit., pp. 509–10.
[10] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 66.

diana in the east; and the statement of Apollodorus[1]—'*as far as* the Seres and the Phryni'—here indicates only an exclusive rather than an inclusive limit.

One of the results of this conquest may have been that some nickel trickled into Bactria,[2] enabling Euthydemus II and later Pantaleon and Agathocles to strike a few coins in that metal.[3] But we have no evidence that there was regular trade along this route at this time. The fact that the nickel coins were never struck again by the Indo-Greeks confirms this, and incidentally proves that their occupation of any regions beyond Sogdiana was limited in time and space.

If anything can be deduced from Strabo's reference[4] to Apollodorus, where only Menander and Demetrius are listed as the great conquerors among the Bactrian Greeks, this northward march, which resulted in the limited occupation of some parts of country beyond Sogdiana, was not undertaken by Euthydemus I. Though there is a possibility that Menander may have ruled over Bactria for some time,[5] he is certainly too late to be credited with these conquests.[6] Demetrius is thus the only possibility. But, on the other hand, Euthydemus II was the first to strike nickel coins, and since the Heracles on his coins, though standing, is not so typically Greek as on the coins of Demetrius, it is likely that the attack was led by Euthydemus II, the younger brother of Demetrius, when their father was dead and Demetrius had just succeeded to the Bactrian throne. Euthydemus I had told Antiochus III of the peril from the nomads of the north,[7] and that danger might well have been a real one. So when Antiochus had departed, and Euthydemus I started on his career of expansion, he entrusted to Demetrius the conquest of the south and to another son, Euthydemus II, that of the north; the final success in both directions was probably achieved when Demetrius had succeeded him. It is not impossible that the copper coins of the Euthydemi which have a 'free prancing horse' on one side may have something to do with the 'heavenly horses' in Ferghana.[8] Thus the Greeks of Bactria

[1] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
[2] Tarn, p. 111. But cf. also A. A. Moss, *NC* 1950, pp. 317–18.
[3] *PMC*, Pl. I. 29 (Euthydemus II); Pl. II. 43 (Agathocles); *BMC*, p. 9 (Pantaleon).
[4] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
[5] Cf. *infra*, pp. 78, 97.
[6] For Menander's date, *c.* 155 B.C., cf. *infra*, p. 77.
[7] Polybius, xi. 39.
[8] Wylie, x. 44.

extended their kingdom to Sogdiana and possibly beyond, towards Ferghana in the north and north-east, Aria and Margiana in the west, and Arachosia and Drangiana in the south. Demetrius ruled over all this region, and his younger brother, who shows no change on his coins, must have predeceased him, possibly after ruling for some time as a joint-king.

It is almost universally accepted that it was Demetrius who crossed the Hindu Kush and made himself master of the Kabul and the Indus valleys. In spite of the warning that 'when we try to take him further, we enter a doubtful region',[1] Tarn has asserted that 'he [Demetrius] ruled from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Cambay, from the Persian desert to the Middle Ganges'.[2] Established theories, though not always based on sound evidence, die hard. But after a careful analysis of the sources we may be compelled to revise them.

The Kabul valley, the Paropamisadae[3] of the Western classical sources, was ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta;[4] it was in the possession of Aśoka,[5] and was ruled by Sophagasenus 'king of India', when Antiochus III visited him in 206. There is nothing to indicate that any attempt was made to suppress him, nor do we know how long Sophagasenus or his dynasty continued to rule. Since Antiochus III renewed the dynastic friendship with him and the latter in return helped him with a contingent of elephants, Sophagasenus was probably strong enough, especially after this new alliance, to meet any immediate intrusion into his territory. Tarn has noted that it cannot be said whether Euthydemus I or Demetrius acquired the Paropamisadae prior to 184, and that its history between 206 and 'Demetrius' invasion of India' is a blank.[6] But since the theory of Demetrius' 'conquest' of India is unlikely unless his possession of the Kabul and the Indus valleys is shown, Tarn made a sweeping statement later: 'it is just possible that the Paropamisadae were

[1] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 446. [2] Tarn, p. 155.

[3] The forms Paropanisadae and Parapanisadae also occur; Strabo spells Paropamisadae and Arrian Parapamisadae. Cf., for a geographical definition, Tarn, p. 96; see Maps II and III.

[4] Strabo, xv. 1. 10, 2. 9; cf. *CHI*, pp. 431, 472.

[5] The discovery of the Aramaic inscription of Aśoka in Laghman confirms the general view that his dominion included the Kabul valley; Tarn assumed that Lampaka had remained in Greek hands since Alexander's time (p. 96), and put the frontier between Chandragupta and the Greeks along the Kunar river (p. 100). Cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, 1949, pp. 80 ff.

[6] Tarn, pp. 101–2.

his already; anyhow he took Gandhara, crossed the Indus, and occupied Taxila'.[1]

But practically the only evidence for this supposition consists of the bilingual coins bearing the name of a certain Demetrius—the silver tetradrachm with standing Zeus holding a thunderbolt and sceptre,[2] and the square copper coin having a winged thunderbolt on the reverse.[3] On the silver coin there is a portrait of the king wearing a flat 'kausia' like that on the coins of Antimachus Theos,[4] and on the copper there is a bust, in no way a portrait, wearing an elephant scalp of clumsy delineation which is not very similar in style to the one used by the Demetrius of the well-known Attic silver tetradrachms. Both these issues have legends in Greek on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. Apart from this new feature it is also remarkable that the king takes the title of 'Aniketos' (Kharoṣṭhī, *Apaḍihata*). Cunningham,[5] who discovered the copper, and Whitehead,[6] who discovered the remarkable silver coin, which is still unique, thought that these coins belonged to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus I. Macdonald distinguished a second Demetrius on coins which bear the figure of helmeted Pallas, standing, holding spear and shield.[7] Tarn has combined all these types of issue and has attributed them to a supposed second son of Demetrius I bearing the same name.[8] And he has further maintained that Demetrius II coined for his father, not for himself;[9] on silver money he put his father's title and on copper not only the title but also his father's head. He explained this oddity by postulating that 'the tetradrachms would circulate principally among Greeks, who understood the position; hence his own head. But the copper coins would circulate, or so it was hoped, among Indians, who might not understand; hence his father's head.'[10] And he thinks that the introduction of the Kharoṣṭhī legend was the result of a 'radical development in policy [which] could only have been due to Demetrius himself, not to any sub-king, and [this] proves yet again that Demetrius II was coining to his father's instructions'.[11] This

[1] Tarn, p. 135. Cf. Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 94: 'The campaign is described by Dr. Tarn in the ordinary language of conquest.'

[2] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XIV. 2; see also Pl. I. 9.

[3] *PMC*, Pl. I. 26; see also Pl. I. 11. [4] Pl. I. 7–9.

[5] *CASE*, pp. 133, 159.

[6] *NC*, 1923, pp. 301, 318, but he has noted the similarity to the coin attributed to Demetrius II by Macdonald (*CHI*, p. 448).

[7] *CHI*, p. 448, Pl. III. 5. [8] Tarn, pp. 77–78.

[9] Ibid., pp. 138, 156. [10] Ibid. [11] Ibid.

conclusion is not only a very speculative one, but also an unjustifiable inference from the numismatic evidence. Why, of all the four sons of Demetrius I suggested by Tarn, was it only the second son,[1] not the eldest, who coined for his father, using his father's title and father's head, but never the type of his father, nothing related to the cult of Heracles? If the silver was meant for the Greeks who could 'understand the position', what was the need of the Kharoṣṭhī legend? Where is the evidence, other than these coins, that Demetrius I had taken the title of Aniketos,[2] so that simply putting this title on the silver money was deemed sufficient to show that Demetrius II was acting in the interest of his father? And the most important objection to Tarn's view is that the silver bilingual coin bearing the name of Demetrius is not of the Attic weight; if it were meant for the Greeks it should have been an Attic tetradrachm. On the other hand, if the copper coins were for the Indians, who might not understand the position, how are they supposed to have been familiar with the head of Demetrius I, who did not strike coins in India, as Tarn also admits,[3] and whose coins are not known to have circulated in those areas? It is strange that Demetrius I, who, according to Tarn,[4] ruled over a considerable part of India, should, on entering the Kabul valley, have permitted his son to strike coins, when the son had no status, and merely accompanied his father to the Paropamisadae. Demetrius I does not figure on the coins found in Begram and other places in the Kabul valley.[5] In the big treasure found in Mir Zakah, Demetrius I's coins are altogether absent.[6] Tarn has said in one place that Demetrius I presumably took the title of Aniketos after

[1] Tarn (p. 78) refers to Demetrius II as the second son of Demetrius I. But, on the other hand, the analogy which he provides (p. 138) is that of Antiochus I, who was the eldest son and successor of Seleucus I (cf. *NC*, 1883, pp. 67–71), and was a crown prince.

[2] No coins of Demetrius I (with elephant-scalp headdress) bear the epithet Aniketos; For its occurrence on the commemorative piece of Agathocles, cf. *infra*, p. 51.

[3] Tarn, p. 139.

[4] Ibid., p. 155.

[5] Masson, *JASB*, 1836, p. 547. Though usually specific in details, Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 146–59, while dealing with Demetrius, is not so in regard to the geographical distribution of his coins. He is apparently more impressed by the square copper coin with the bilingual legends than by the actual discovery of Demetrius' coins in the Kabul valley; cf. also Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxv, Whitehead, *NNM(ANS)*, No. 13, p. 15. In *NC*, 1923, p. 318, Whitehead says that the bilingual silver tetradrachm is not from the Kabul find.

[6] Schlumberger, p. 75.

crossing the Indus, because he hoped to be a second Alexander.[1] We have no other example of such unparalleled disinterestedness on the part of a king who was ambitious enough to emulate Alexander, but chose to record the most important event of his career only on the coins of an insignificant son. Obviously there is much confusion somewhere, which we shall take up in the next chapter.[2] Here we need only say that no coins of Demetrius I have been reported as found in the Kabul valley, and that the bilingual coins belong to another Demetrius, whoever he may have been; we have no reason to believe that he struck coins under instructions from Demetrius I.

With no evidence for the occupation of the Kabul valley, the theory of Demetrius I's conquest of Gandhāra loses strength. Gandhāra included Taxila among other areas.[3] And out of 519 coins discovered in the Taxila excavations there is only one copper coin with trident bearing the name of Demetrius,[4] which probably belongs to the other Demetrius.[5] There are other places in Gandhāra in which numberless coins of Indo-Greek rulers, even of those who probably did not rule there, have been found, but none of Demetrius I. There is only one inscription mentioning an Indo-Greek king in an area otherwise rich in epigraphic remains, but this bears the name not of Demetrius but of Menander.[6] Nor is there any literary evidence from the west to show the existence of any city called Demetrias in the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra as we have noticed in Arachosia. But Tarn believed that Demetrius I built a new city in Taxila on the site now called Sirkap to be his capital, to which he transferred the population of old Taxila.[7] The fact remains, however, that until now the excavations of Taxila have failed to show any major settlement of the Greeks of a permanent nature.[8]

[1] Tarn, p. 132.

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 34–37, 50–53.

[3] Tarn, p. 135; Whitehead (*NC*, 1940, p. 109) and others have excluded Taxila from the geographical boundary of Gandhāra, but we have included it. Cf. Rapson, *CHI*, p. 552; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 247. In the literary sources Puṣkalāvatī and Taxila have been considered as the two chief centres of Gandhāra; cf. *IHQ*, 1953, pp. 14–15.

[4] Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 798.

[5] Cf. *infra*, p. 52.

[6] Bajaur inscription, cf. *Ep. Ind.* xxiv. 1–8; *infra*, pp. 79–80.

[7] Tarn, p. 137.

[8] Marshall's stratification of Sirkap was found to be incorrect in the excavations carried out by R. E. M. Wheeler and A. Ghosh in 1944–5 (cf. *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 4, pp. 41 ff.). The

Taxila was well known for its restiveness under the Mauryas,[1] and if Tārānātha is to be believed a certain Vīrasena was ruling Gandhāra some time after Aśoka.[2] If Sophagasenus was a descendant of Vīrasena,[3] he may have ruled both the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. We cannot say whether he issued coins or not, but even if he did they cannot now be identified among the many later punch-marked coins. But there is no doubt that some of the Taxila coins which bear the legends *Negamā*, *Paṁcanekame*, and *Hiraña-same*, and probably many of the local uninscribed copper coins also, were struck in the period between the fall of the Mauryas and the occupation by the Indo-Greeks.[4] Apart from the fact that the conquest of Taxila as early as the reign of Demetrius would scarcely allow sufficient time for these numerous coins to be issued, it is strange that, if he conquered the area, the local types did not influence his currency. Even if we suppose with Tarn that the bilingual square copper money was struck under his instructions, —its mere shape does not necessarily indicate Taxilan influence; it could well have been struck in the Kabul valley. The characteristic features distinctive of Taxilan coinage first appear on the coins of Agathocles and, curiously enough, Tarn thinks that he never ruled there.[5] In fact, Tarn himself has admitted that one of the great difficulties in reconstruction has been that the coin-

so-called Indo-Greek layers, Sirkap V and VI, actually do not exist, and 'the only occupation prior to the fourth city of Marshall's series consisted of a few pits cut into the natural soil'. 'Systematic occupation begins here with the construction of the city wall *c.* 50 B.C. . . . after the end of the Indo-Greek regime' (p. 84). Curiously enough Wheeler assumes that an Indo-Greek settlement may have existed, but if it did we must await some fortunate archaeologist's spade. Meanwhile the fact remains that even purely on grounds of stratification there is no proof of an Indo-Greek city at Sirkap. Moreover, Marshall's Indo-Greek layers have not revealed remarkably distinct Greek objects either qualitatively or quantitatively. The material remains, e.g. pottery, terracotta, &c., do not differ from those of the Śaka layers. And above all it is very significant that out of 471 Indo-Greek coins found at Sirkap, only 30 are recorded in the so-called Indo-Greek strata, whereas in those same layers there have been found 61 Śaka-Pahlava coins. The majority of the Indo-Greek coins (316) are found in layers II and III.

[1] *PHAI*, p. 363.

[2] A. Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 50–52.

[3] Thomas, *IA*, 1875, p. 362; for other references cf. *supra*, p. 9.

[4] Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, p. xcxxxix: '. . . The copper coinage of Taxila seems to have been a short-lived one, beginning late in the third century B.C. . . . and ending with the Greek conquest before the middle of the third century'. Cf. also Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 855, and Marshall in fn. 2, loc. cit.

[5] Tarn, pp. 159–60. But *contra* Allan, op. cit., p. 857; cf. also *infra*, pp. 59–60.

type used by the Greeks for Taxila was unknown.[1] He adds that the Taxila type ought to be discoverable on the coinage of the city. That coinage uses, among several types, the lion, the humped bull, the horse, and the elephant.[2] Tarn takes the elephant as the missing type of Taxila,[3] and though he recognizes the difficulty in one place he alludes elsewhere in his book to 'the Elephant of Taxila'.[4] Whitehead has pointed out that the elephant is found on no more than three of Allan's nine classes of local Taxila money, and only on 47 of the 171 specimens described. The elephant and the bull are Indian animals *par excellence* and constantly recur on many series.[5] If any of the Taxila animals was used with other types by Agathocles on his coins, it was the lion.[6] And certainly the copper bilingual coin bearing the name of a Demetrius has nothing to do with Taxila.[7]

But it has been supposed[8] that Demetrius did not stop at Taxila. He had two possible lines of advance on either side of the Indian desert, one down the Indus and the other eastward to the Ganges valley. It is claimed that the aim of Demetrius I was to restore the huge derelict empire of the Mauryas, but under Greek rule and with himself on the throne of Aśoka,[9] for, according to Tarn, Demetrius was a Seleucid on the distaff side and the Maurya dynasty was descended from, or anyhow connected with, Seleucus; so Demetrius might well have regarded himself, if not as the next heir, at any rate as the heir nearest at hand.[10] This was an ambitious plan for a king who has left fewer coins than at least a dozen of his successors, and it was hardly possible to achieve the feat alone; so Tarn suggests that Demetrius I was fortunate in having two able commanders in Apollodotus and Menander,[11] besides his

[1] Tarn, p. 163.

[2] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 855.

[3] Tarn, p. 163.

[4] Ibid., pp. 164, 314.

[5] In Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 831–2. Cf. *BMC Ancient India*, pp. 214 ff. Tarn's theory based on Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, p. xxvi, that the elephant was particularly associated with Eran and Taxila and thus possessed local significance, loses strength in view of the fact that Allan himself has since modified his opinion, cf. Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 832.

[6] *PMC*, p. 17; *BMC*, p. 11.

[7] 'The matter would admit of no doubt if the Greeks had adopted the well known Taxila mark, or perhaps if they had reproduced the deity of whom it is tempting to think as the city goddess of Taxila.' Whitehead in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 832.

[8] Tarn, p. 140.

[9] Ibid., p. 152.

[10] Ibid., pp. 152–3.

[11] Ibid., p. 140; but cf. *infra*, pp. 75–77, 126, where it is shown that Menander and Apollodotus are not contemporary with Demetrius I.

hypothetical grown-up sons who managed his affairs in other parts of his empire.[1] And thus Tarn pleads for literal Greek *conquest* over country extending from Kabul in a straight line 900 miles south to Broach and 1,100 miles east to Patna.[2] This brilliant reconstruction would indeed be remarkable if it were based on more solid foundations. Several authorities, however, have believed in the substance of Tarn's story, though disagreeing on its details.[3]

We shall discuss the actual extent and influence of Indo-Greek power in India in the appropriate chapter.[4] Meanwhile we examine the evidence on which Tarn bases his claim for Demetrius I's far-reaching conquests.

As far as the Western classical sources are concerned there are only two passages which refer to a certain Demetrius in connexion with India. One is in Justin,[5] who says, while describing the career of Eucratides, that 'Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by *Demetrius king of the Indians*, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies.'[6]

We are not certain who this Demetrius was, since the passage does not say that he was the son of Euthydemus, but he was certainly a contemporary of Eucratides, who flourished in the same period as Mithridates I of Parthia.[7] He is called in the passage *regis Indorum* but this is vague and may well mean India in the limited sense with which the Western classical sources seem to have been more familiar; it was in this narrower sense that Sophagasenus was called 'king of India'.[8] Another point which is manifest from the passage in Justin is that Eucratides could successfully outmanœuvre with only 300 men a king who had a large

[1] Tarn, p. 134 (Euthydemus II), p. 137 (Demetrius II), p. 156 (Pantaleon), and pp. 157 ff. (Agathocles).
[2] Ibid., p. 155.
[3] e.g. Marshall, *Taxila*, cf. his Preface, p. xix. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 3 vols. See especially portions on Bactria. There are many other scholars who have accepted the substance of Tarn's story.
[4] *Infra*, Ch. IV.
[5] Justin, xli. 6.
[6] 'Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit, quibus adtritus cum obsidionem Demetrii, regis Indorum, pateretur, cum CCC militibus LX milia hostium adsiduis eruptionibus vicit.'
[7] Justin, xli. 6: 'eodem ferme tempore, sicut in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt.'
[8] Polybius, xi. 39.

force—though the number 60,000 seems grossly exaggerated[1]—and that this Demetrius fought him alone.

The second passage is in Strabo,[2] who quotes Apollodorus of Artemita that,

> More tribes were subdued by them[3] than by Alexander—mostly[4] by Menander, (at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaus), for some were subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus the king of the Bactrians; and they took possession, not only of Patalene but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis. In short, Apollodorus says that Bactriana is the ornament of Ariana as a whole; and more than that, they extended their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni.

But before we analyse this passage we must take notice of two other passages in Strabo. He notes in one place,[5]

> At any rate, Apollodorus who wrote 'the Parthica', when he mentions the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator, says that when those kings had grown in power they also attacked India, but he reveals nothing further than what was already known, and even contradicts what was known, saying that those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians; that Eucratides, at any rate, held a thousand cities as his subjects.

On another occasion Strabo noted,[6]

> Of the eastern parts of India, then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this side of the Hypanis, and also any parts beyond the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra.

We have quoted these relevant passages from Strabo to show that the general impression they leave is that Apollodorus was not thought to be very reliable, and that he contradicted what was already known. Strabo has quite explicit doubts, especially about

[1] Watson (translation of Justin in Bohn Classical Library series), p. 277, fn., calls this figure 'very improbable'. Cf. also Tarn, p. 200: 'The figure 60,000 is naturally untrustworthy.'
[2] Strabo, xi. 11. 1–2.
[3] 'The Greeks who caused Bactria to revolt.'
[4] The word μάλιστα is translated by H. L. Jones as 'in particular' (Strabo, Loeb edn., vol. v, p. 279).
[5] Ibid., xv. 1. 3.
[6] Ibid., 27–28.

Apollodorus' information that the Greeks of Bactria actually crossed the Hypanis, and that they subdued more of India than the Macedonians. And, in the last passage quoted above, '. . . those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra', might not indicate the military expedition of the 'Greek kings of Bactria', and cannot exclude the possibility of the reference being to the envoys and travellers like Megasthenes, who visited these parts later than Alexander. There is independent evidence of at least one Greek raid in the Ganges valley, but we fail to understand that the word προελθόντες shows that a military expedition is meant and that the passage necessarily implies that Pāṭaliputra was taken.[1] The verb προέρχομαι means simply 'to go on', 'to go forward', 'to advance', and in none of the examples given by Liddell and Scott is a military expedition implied.[2] Moreover, a confusion between the envoys and kings who followed Alexander is quite likely,[3] for there is a passage in Pliny[4] where Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus (*reges*) are contrasted with Megasthenes and Dionysius (*auctores*).

But in spite of these doubts cast on the value of Apollodorus' statements we are much indebted to Strabo for having honestly preserved them with his own remarks, and we must now consider the chief passage with which we are concerned. It is very clear that Menander was the most prominent among those Greek kings who conquered more territories in India than Alexander, if Apollodorus is to be believed.[5] The other personage who is also supposed to have conquered some regions of India is Demetrius, who is mentioned as 'the son of Euthydemus, the king of the Bactrians'.[6] The direction of their conquests is indicated by the places mentioned, which are given as Saraostus and Sigerdis in India, and the Seres and the Phryni towards Ferghana. It is true that it is very difficult to demarcate the respective areas of the conquests of these two kings. But there is no ground to connect Menander with the Seres and the Phryni. We have seen that Demetrius was rather connected with Bactria than with India, and consequently with such conquests as might have taken place farther north. But, on

[1] Tarn, p. 144, fn. 6.
[2] Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon, A New Edition in two volumes revised by* H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1925–40), p. 1479.
[3] Altheim, i. 327.
[4] Pliny, vi. 58.
[5] *καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος.*
[6] *τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Εὐθυδήμου υἱός, τοῦ Βακτρίων Βασιλέως.*

the other hand, the statement of Apollodorus is explicit about the direction of Menander's advance,[1] and, since he definitely conquered most of the areas mentioned,[2] it is probable that it was he who is *supposed* to have taken possession of the kingdoms of Saraostus and Sigerdis; whether he actually did so is doubtful.[3] If we suppose that Strabo gives a respective order of sequence in statement, we come to the same conclusion. But the matter does not end here. The Demetrius who is said to have been a contemporary of Eucratides by Justin is not mentioned by him as the son of Euthydemus,[4] and, as we shall see in the next chapter, he appears to be later than Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus. It is clear that we must distinguish between two Demetrii, one 'king of India'—in whatever limited sense 'India' is used—and the other, the son of Euthydemus, connected with Bactria and probably responsible for conquests as far as the Seres and the Phryni. Apollodorus was naturally more familiar with histories which were not primarily concerned with India, and it is thus possible that the young Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, who figures in Polybius in connexion with Antiochus III's treaty with Euthydemus,[5] was better known to him than the other Demetrius, who also ruled south of the Hindu Kush and struck bilingual coins.[6] This confusion seems apparent in the statement of Apollodorus, who first associates Demetrius with Menander as one who also conquered some parts in India, and later, as if to correct himself, mentions the expansion towards the Seres and the Phryni.[7] Thus there is nothing in the Western classical sources to prove any conquest in India, in whatever sense we take the term, by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus; this accords well with other evidence, some of which we have already shown and more of which we shall discuss later.[8]

We must note here an unimportant piece of literary evidence[9] from the medieval West. This is Chaucer who, in his *Knight's Tale*, describes 'the grete Emetrius, the King of Ynde'. The source of

[1] *εἴ γε καὶ τὸν Ὕπανιν διέβη πρὸς ἕω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμάου προῆλθε.*
[2] The words *καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος* must not be ignored.
[3] No Indo-Greek coins have ever been noticed in Gujarat. Moreover, the location of Sigerdis is not certain. Cf. *infra*, pp. 93–94.
[4] Justin, xli. 6, calls him only *regis Indorum*.
[5] Polybius, xi. 39.
[6] Cf. *infra*, pp. 50 ff.
[7] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
[8] Cf. *infra*, Ch. III.
[9] *Knight's Tale*, 2155.

Chaucer's Emetrius is unknown;[1] his own phrase in the preceding line is 'in stories as men fynde'. But the lineage of the *Knight's Tale* goes back through Boccaccio's *Teseide* to Statius, and Boccaccio does not mention Emetrius.[2] If Emetrius is Demetrius, as is generally thought, one may refer him to Boccaccio's Latin work *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, where a brief mention of Demetrius and Eucratides does occur[3] which is rather reminiscent of Justin's passage.[4] Even so it is not clear which of the two Demetrii is referred to by Chaucer, because neither he nor Boccaccio tells us that he was the son of Euthydemus. On the other hand, it is evident that Boccaccio refers to the other Demetrius who, according to Justin, was contemporary with Eucratides. Chaucer probably called his Emetrius 'the grete' because he combined the two Demetrii. Further it is quite likely, though uncertain, that 'Chaucer's Emetrius may be a corrupt reading of the "Emenidus" king of Soreloys, said to be in India, who occurs in the French romance *Artur de Petit Bretagne*, and possibly elsewhere'.[5] Apart from all these points, which show that Chaucer's Emetrius has probably nothing to do with Demetrius the son of Euthydemus, we may reasonably wonder why so much value should be attached to an unreliable literary source of as late a period as that of Chaucer. It is strange that the scholars, who have found in Chaucer an example of 'legend remembering where history has forgotten', are not prepared to give the same latitude to Plutarch,[6] when he refers to Menander as king of Bactria, though Plutarch lived centuries before Chaucer.[7]

Besides Demetrius (I) and Menander, Tarn, like many others before him, has taken Apollodotus from the often quoted passage of Trogus, 'Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum',[8] and, following Rapson,[9] has con-

[1] Tarn, p. 154 and fn. 5.

[2] A. W. Pollard's edition of *The Knight's Tale* (1903) *teste* Tarn, p. 154, fn. 4.

[3] A. D. H. Bivar, *JRAS*, 1950, pp. 7–13. He quotes the passage, 'Eucratides Bactrianorum rex se a Demetrio Indorum rege obsessum et a filio demum occisum, ferisque lacerandum relictum querebatur' (vi. 6).

[4] Justin, xli. 6.

[5] A. D. H. Bivar in an unpublished addendum to his paper, op. cit., sent by him.

[6] *Moralia*, 821 D–E.

[7] Chaucer flourished in the late fourteenth century (*c.* 1340–1400), and Plutarch in the first–second century A.D.

[8] Trogus, xli.

[9] *CHI*, p. 543.

sidered these three men as contemporaries, who between them achieved the temporary conquest of northern India;[1] the statements of the Greek and Latin writers, according to Tarn, are inclusive and not exclusive.[2] But we hope to show that neither Menander nor Apollodotus was a contemporary of Demetrius I,[3] that the reading *Apollodotum* in Trogus is an unwarranted emendation made by later editors,[4] and that probably there is no need to postulate the existence of a prominent king called Apollodotus I;[5] that in fact there was only one Apollodotus.

It is generally believed that the Indian sources also contain references to the Indo-Greek king Demetrius (I) and a town which Tarn called Demetrias-in-Sind.[6] Fortunately for us the evidence has now been fully discussed,[7] and we need not cover the whole ground again. There seems to be no proof for the equation of Dattāmitra or Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* with Demetrius,[8] and Tarn has withdrawn his original conclusions.[9] Still we are asked not to ignore the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* which refers to a *Yavanādhipa* and Dattāmitra or Dattamitra in connexion with Sauvira.[10] But the passages concerned[11] have been excluded from the text given by the critical Poona edition, where the entire episode is printed in an appendix.[12] Apart from the spuriousness of those passages, the internal evidence is not coherent and it hardly leads to any conclusion. It is quite clear that Dattāmitra was not the name of the *Yavanādhipa* mentioned in the passage; it seems to be only an epithet of Sumitra, a king of Sauvīra;

[1] Tarn, pp. 142 ff. [2] Ibid.

[3] *Infra*, pp. 75–77, 126. [4] *Infra*, pp. 66–67.

[5] *Infra*, pp. 64–69, 122–7.

[6] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii. pp. 11, 176; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1911, p. 12; Tarn, pp. 142, 257, 458; *AIU*, p. 107; *PHAI*, p. 382.

[7] Johnston, *JRAS*, 1939, pp. 217–40; 1940, p. 189; *contra* Tarn, *JRAS*, 1940, p. 179, but cf. Tarn, Addenda, pp. 526, 536.

[8] Johnston, op. cit., 1939, pp. 222–3.

[9] Tarn, Addenda, loc. cit.

[10] *PHAI*, p. 382.

[11]
Na śaśāka vaśe karttuṃ yaṃ Pāṇḍurapi vīryavān
Sorjunena vaśaṃ nīto rājāsīdyavanādhipaḥ
Atīvabalasampannaḥ sadā mānī Kurūnprati
Vittalo nāma Sauvīraḥ śastaḥ Pārthena dhīmatā
Dattamitramiti khyātaṃ saṃgrāmakṛtaniścayaṃ
Sumitraṃ nāma Sauvīramarjunodamayaccharaiḥ.

It is worth noting that there are variant readings for Dattāmitra, e.g. Dattamitra, Datavakra, Dāntavakra, &c.

[12] *Mahābhārata*, vol. i, Appendix I, text 80, pp. 927–9.

and the name of the *Yavanādhipa* was actually Vittala.[1] In fact, being a very late interpolation, the passage cannot be used as evidence of positive value for the identification of Dattāmitra with Demetrius. If this identification is uncertain the connexion of Dāttāmitrī, the Demetrias-in-Sind, with Demetrius also loses ground. Johnston has shown that this is one of the unfortunate examples of misreporting,[2] and that 'this unusual type of place-name occurs only in the case of towns called after eponymous *ṛṣis*'; the true explanation of the name may be that Dattāmitra or Dattamitra was a *ṛṣi*.[3] The mention of this town in one of the Nasik inscriptions[4] is also of little help, for this only testifies to the existence of a town named Dātāmiti in the north (*otarāha*).[5] The many known lists of Indian place-names are all unanimous in treating the coast of Sind as being in the western region rather than the northern.[6]

Jayaswal sought to discover the name of Demetrius in one of the lines of the *Yuga Purāṇa*[7], where he read a word as *dharmamīta*.[8] Presumably it supported his reading of *Ḍimita* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.[9] This identification was used to advantage by Tarn,[10] who thought that 'the name has been "adjusted" to bring in the word Dharma and to make it signify "Friend of Justice" ', for he imagined that Demetrius appeared to the Indians not as a foreign conqueror but as the king of Justice![11] It is curious that Tarn did not accept four other identifications of Greek kings by Jayaswal in the same work.[12] However, there was another reason why Tarn accepted this identification. He noticed, in a Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit work,[13] the name Dharmamitra, which

[1] Other variant readings for this name are Kuntala, Vipula, and Vitula.
[2] The mistake has been traced to D. R. Bhandarkar, op. cit., where he thought that the town Dāttāmitrī was mentioned in Patañjali; many scholars including Tarn copied this mistake. But Johnston has pointed out that Patañjali did not comment on *Pāṇini*, iv. 2. 76, which is the *sutra* in question.
[3] Johnston, op. cit., 1939, pp. 223–4.
[4] Lüders's list, No. 1140, *Ep. Ind.* viii. 90 (Nasik. 18).
[5] . . . *otarāhasa Dātāmitiyakasa Yoṇakasa Dhammadevaputasa Idrāgnidatasa.*
[6] Johnston, op. cit., 1939, p. 235.
[7] Cf. Appendix IV.
[8] *JBORS* xiv. 417–18, 403, line 40.
[9] Ibid. xiii. 228; xiv. 127–8, 417–18.
[10] Tarn, p. 178.
[11] Ibid. pp. 178–9, 455.
[12] Jayaswal identifies Āmlāṭa, Gopālobhāma, Puṣyaka, and Savila with Amyntas, Apollophanes, Peucolaus, and Zoilus respectively (*JBORS* xiv. 412; *contra* Tarn, p. 455).
[13] *Vinayasūtra Ṭīkā* in its Tibetan version, cf. Sylvain Lévi, *JA*, 1933, p. 27, fn. 1.

he thought was the name of a city, Tarmita, Termedh, Termez, his Demetrias-in-Sogdiana.[1] But this identification was due to a confusion on his part, and the true facts have been given by Whitehead[2] and Bailey.[3] P. Cordier has noted that Dharmamitra, a teacher of the Vaibhāṣika school of the Tukhāra country, was the author of a commentary, the first colophon of which describes him as 'originaire de Tarmita (?) au bord du fleuve Pakṣu'.[4] Sylvain Lévi identified Pakṣu with Oxus and thought that Tarmita was Termez on the same river.[5] Bailey traces the allusions to the colophon in the Tibetan Tanjur, which mentions Tarmita, and he has set out the full colophon with literal translation.[6] This confirms that Dharmamitra was the author, a native of Tarmita. There is no suggestion that one word was derived from the other and there is no justification for Tarn's identification. Apart from this impossibility of identification of Demetrius with Dharmamitra, it is questionable whether Jayaswal's reading of *dharmamīta* in the Yugapurāṇa is correct. The line containing this supposed word has been edited by Jayaswal as *Dharmamīta-tamā-vṛddhā janaṃ bhokṣ(kṣy)anti nirbhayāḥ*.[7] This is, indeed, a difficult line which baffles definite interpretation, but Jayaswal thought that it referred to the Tamā-elders[8] of Dharmamita (Demetrius).[9] Since Jayaswal edited this work two more manuscripts have come to light,[10] and now we have the variant readings *dharmamītatayā* and *dharmabhītatamā*. Even if Jayaswal's reading *Dharmamīta tamā-vṛddhā* is correct it does not necessarily follow that *dharmamīta* is the name of Demetrius; and it is not easily explainable why *tamā*, an ordinary superlative suffix should be compounded with *vṛddhā*. We discuss this line later in an appendix, and propose to read it in the context

[1] Ibid., Tarn, pp. 118–19.
[2] *NC*, 1947, p. 35; 1950, pp. 213–14.
[3] *BSOAS* xiii, pt. 2, pp. 400–3.
[4] *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome lxxxvi, pt. 3, p. 408.
[5] Sylvain Lévi, op. cit., p. 27.
[6] *BSOAS* xiii, pt. 2, pp. 400–3.
[7] *JBORS* xiv. 403, line 40.
[8] Jayaswal (ibid., p. 128) says: 'I cannot say what *tamā* stands for: it may be a corrupt misspelling or a survival of some Greek fiscal expression (cf. *tamieion* = treasury). "Elders" may denote senior officers.' Curiously Tarn accepts Jayaswal and says: 'certainly "tax-collectors" gives the required sense' (Tarn, p. 455). But cf. Appendix IV.
[9] *JBORS* xiv, pp. 127–8, 411.
[10] Paris MS. (*JBORS* xv. 129–35) and MS. C (Mankad's edition, *JUPHS* xx. 32–48, later his monograph, *Yugapurāṇam*); cf. Appendix IV.

of the preceding lines, which seem quite normal.[1] There is thus no name of Demetrius in the *Yugapurāṇa*.

It is unfortunate that we have not discovered a large number of inscriptions of the Indo-Greek kings, as we have those of the Śaka-Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas. Other than the Bajaur inscription,[2] which refers to Menander, and the Besnagar inscription,[3] which mentions Antialcidas, no other epigraph gives clearly the name of any Indo-Greek king whom we know from the coins.[4] It was supposed that the Hāthigumphā inscription[5] contains the name of Demetrius.[6] Tarn has taken this for granted, and thinks that there is mention of a certain *Ḍimita* in the inscription, who must be identified with Demetrius; this was apparently confirmed by the once general view that the Hāthigumphā inscription was to be dated in the second century B.C.[7]

But both the reading *Ḍimita* and the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription are highly controversial. It is now generally accepted that the inscription is not earlier than the middle of the first century B.C.[8] And after careful examination of the fascimile[9] we have come to the conclusion that there is no justification whatsoever for the reading *Ḍimita*. We disagree entirely with the latest reading of Altheim, who finds therein the name of Apollodotus.[10] Jayaswal, who first suggested the reading *Ḍimita*,[11] and Banerji[12]

[1] Cf. Appendix IV.

[2] N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.* xxiv, 1–8; Konow, *NIA* ii, 639 ff., also *Ep. Ind.* xxvii, 52 ff.; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 102.

[3] Marshall, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1053 ff.; Chanda, *MASI*, No. 1; Sircar, op. cit., p. 90.

[4] We are doubtful whether Theodamas of the Bajaur Seal inscription (*CII*, p. 6) was 'king'. But cf. Tarn, p. 312.

[5] There are many editions of this inscription. Cf. Jayaswal and Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* xx. 71–89; Sircar, op. cit., p. 206. See also Bibliography.

[6] Jayaswal, *JBORS* xiii. 221, 228; Jayaswal and Banerji, op. cit., pp. 76, 84; Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, i. 27. But *contra* Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves* (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 17–18; *IHQ* xiv (1938), 465; Sircar, op. cit., p. 208; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 420.

[7] Tarn, pp. 457 f.

[8] Sircar, op. cit., p. 206. 'The angular forms and straight bases of letters like *va*, *bha*, *pa*, *ha*, and *ya* which are usually found in the Hāthigumphā record suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (cp. *ḍa*).' It is certainly later than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus. Cf. also Sircar, *AIU*, p. 215; de la Vallée Poussin, p. 198: Khāravela must be '*après, beaucoup après 150*'.

[9] Plates in *JBORS* iii. 473 ff., xiii. 221 ff; *IHQ* xiv. 261 ff.; Sircar, op. cit., p. 208.

[10] Altheim, i. 330.

[11] *JBORS* vi. 5; xiii. 228.

[12] Ibid., fn. 1; *Ep. Ind.* xx. 76, 84.

and Konow,[1] who supported him, were sure of the letter *ma* only, and they read *Ḍimita* by supplying the first and the last letters, since it was supposed that this word was preceded by *Yavanarāja*, and because it was then considered that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. But the identity of the latter with Bahasatimita, mentioned in the inscription, is no longer seriously considered.[2] And apart from the very doubtfully restored word *Ḍimita*,[3] the preceding word *Yavanarāja* is not as clear as it is supposed to be. The last letter *ja*, which is restored by the editors,[4] is not very dissimilar to *ma* in the follow-word, and if the former is *ja* the latter should also be *ja* and vice versa. Besides, the second letter *va* can also be read as *ma* or *mā*.[5] In fact the letters which were later restored as *Yavanarāja Ḍimita* were read very differently by the earlier editors;[6] Jayaswal himself read them in 1917 as *Ye va na ri do (nā ma)*.[7] Even if we accept the reading *Yavanarāja Ḍimita* we can neither place Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, in the latter half of the first century B.C., nor can we find any other Indo-Greek king in that period who might have retreated to Mathurā from some region to the east of it,[8] unless, of course, we take the possible *Yavanarāja* in the inscription as denoting a Śaka king of Mathurā who invaded eastern India and was compelled to retreat, a theory for which we have no supporting evidence. The reading *Yavanarāja* is by no means certain, and, even if it were so, this would be a very early use of the term *Yavana* to denote a Śaka. The Hāthigumphā inscription seems to have nothing to do with the history of the Indo-Greeks; certainly it has nothing to do with Demetrius I.

Thus we have little evidence to support the theory of extensive conquests in India by Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus. It is also probable that the credit for having conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra has been unjustifiably transferred from

[1] *Acta Orientalia*, i. 27.

[2] *PHAI*, pp. 373 f.

[3] Sircar, the latest editor of the text of the inscription (op. cit.) put the word with query in brackets viz. (*Ḍimita?*).

[4] Jayaswal and Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* xx. 79, 84; Sircar, op. cit., p. 208.

[5] Cf. the fascimile, especially Pl. III in Barua, *IHQ* xiv. 459 ff.

[6] Bhagawanlal Indraji, *Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes* Pt. III, pp. 135 ff. (p. 160, *madhuraṃ apayāto navame ca vase . . .*); Also Jayaswal, *JBORS* iii. 456.

[7] *JBORS* iv. 378, 399; xiii. 227.

[8] Some have suggested that if *Ḍimita*, the name of the *Yavanarāja* in the inscription, is correct, of which there is no likelihood, it may refer to Diomedes rather than to Demetrius (cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 208, Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 420). But we have no evidence to suggest that Diomedes ever invaded the Gangetic valley.

Demetrius II to the homonymous son of Euthydemus.[1] It is unfortunate that Demetrius I has enjoyed his unjustified fame for so long that time and again scholars have falsely traced his name in various Indian words closely or even only remotely resembling it in sound or meaning, without any regard to the nature and date of the source concerned. The *Timitra* of a Besnagar seal[2] may very well be an Indian name with the ending *-mitra*, which was very common at this period;[3] it is noteworthy that the Śunga kings with names ending in *-mitra* are known to have ruled in the Vidiśā (Besnagar) region. Sohoni suggested that King Dāmodara in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* might be Demetrius,[4] but this lacks all proof. Similarly we fail to agree with the suggestion of Bagchi that the *yakṣa* Kṛmiśa, who in a *Divyāvadāna* story kills Puṣyamitra, is identical with Demetrius.[5] It has also been supposed that the name *Devamantiya* in the *Milindapañha* is a transcription of Demetrius,[6] but, though this may be correct, it cannot refer to Demetrius the king; Demetrius was a common enough Greek name, and *Devamantiya* is mentioned in the *Milindapañha* along with other *Yonakas* like Anantakāya, Mankura, and Sabbadinna who accompanied Menander.[7] There is no suggestion that these *Yonakas* were kings.

Thus the tradition of Demetrius' great conquests in India rests entirely on a concatenation of slender threads of evidence. It is true that the Yavanas developed considerable power under Euthydemus and his son Demetrius I. The spectacle of the declining Maurya empire may have lured them to the valleys of the Kabul and Indus rivers. But we have also to notice the menacing dangers from other directions. The danger from the north, which Euthydemus I had emphasized to Antiochus, ultimately proved to be real;[8] and that from the west, from Parthia, soon resulted in the loss of two satrapies of Bactria.[9] The revealing statement of Justin quoted earlier[10] indicates among other things that there were restive elements not only in Sogdiana and Aria but also in Arachosia, Drangiana, and India, and that the Indo-Greeks were so continuously harassed by them that finally the Parthians, who were initially weaker than the Greeks, got the upper hand. It is true that all these dangers did not come to a head at the same time, but obviously they were present throughout the existence of the Indo-Greek kingdom, and the most surprising feature of their history is not that the Greeks lost their power so soon, but that amidst all these dangers they survived as long as they did. In such circumstances it would be political foresightedness for a king rather to concentrate on consolidating whatever areas had been won than to rush headlong to win fresh lands, which it would be beyond his resources to hold. Demetrius I was wise if he did not think of crossing the Hindu Kush and disturbing Sophagasenus or his successors in the Paropamisadae, who were friends of the Seleucids, or of risking an encounter with the autonomous governments which had been newly organized in Taxila and possibly in other cities of Gandhāra, as is evident from the coins.

Some authorities, notably Tarn, attempt to overcome the weakness of the widely accepted theory of Demetrius' conquests by attributing to his reign the events of more than one generation and the achievements of more than one person. Demetrius I is said to have employed a host of sub-kings and generals, who included one-fourth of the total number of the Indo-Greek kings known from coins. He is supposed to have formulated a gigantic strategic plan, bigger and better than any of Alexander's, to have run from one end of his kingdom to the other in order to regulate his affairs and control his sub-kings, and to have left conquests of far-reaching consequences to generals of unknown origin, with unsagacious and almost unbelievable over-confidence. And to what end? Only to meet a shameful death at the hands of Eucratides. Surely Euthydemus and Demetrius I, whose portraits are sufficient to show their determination and prowess, were not rash adventurers; they were wiser, though perhaps not greater, than historians have thought them. Had they not concentrated their energies on the consolidation of their kingdom, Mithridates I might not have stopped at taking only two satrapies, and the course of history might well have been different. The wonderful achievements of the Indo-Greeks amidst a bewildering chaos of contending forces would not have been so exciting a story for the historian to reconstruct had the foundations not been laid so strongly.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 37; *infra*, pp. 50 ff.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, 1914–15, p. 77; *EHI*, p. 255; *PHAI*, p. 382.

[3] The coins of the kings who ruled Pañcāla, Mathurā, and Kauśāmbī bear names ending in *-mitra*. Such names are also found in literature and inscriptions.

[4] *JBRS*, xxxv, pp. 71 ff.

[5] *IHQ* xxii. 81 ff.; cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 382, who thinks Kṛmiśa belongs to the domain of folklore.

[6] Tarn, pp. 422, 458, fn. 2.

[7] *Milindapañha*, p. 29.

[8] *Infra*, Ch. VI.

[9] *Infra*, p. 53.

[10] *Supra*, p. 24.

CHAPTER III

THE EXTENSION OF GRECO-BACTRIAN POWER TO THE PAROPAMISADAE AND GANDHĀRA

POLYBIUS[1] mentions the 'descendants' of Diodotus, and Strabo refers to the 'others' who followed the example of Euthydemus.[2] We are not told their names, but one of them may have been Antimachus Theos. This mysterious king seems to have been a personage of some importance; ancient historians have overlooked him. Cunningham considered him to be one of the three original founders of the Indo-Greek kingdom,[3] but discoveries since the time of Cunningham have made this theory unlikely.[4] Nevertheless, the fact remains that several families played their part in the history of the Indo-Greeks. This is evident from the great number of names and the wide variety of patron deities shown on the coins; quite unlike the Seleucids, very few Indo-Greek kings bear the same name, and the same reverse type was never long maintained. The kings did not constitute one dynasty; probably there was no ruling family as in Egypt or Syria. They may have followed a system of election, as in the Roman empire, or have been a military aristocracy. Whatever may have been the nature of Indo-Greek kingship, it is undoubtedly true that there were several ruling families.

Some scholars considered Antimachus to be a son or close relation of Diodotus II, whom he succeeded in Kabul;[5] others have put him later than Demetrius I.[6] Tarn has taken him to be a son of Euthydemus I and a younger brother of Demetrius I.[7] On the basis of the type and style of his coins, Antimachus Theos belongs to the early group of the Greek kings of Bactria; but the commemorative medals do not prove that he was a son of Euthy-

[1] Polybius, xi. 39. [2] Strabo, xi. 9.
[3] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 110, also his chart on p. 96.
[4] Especially noteworthy is the medal struck by Antimachus Theos commemorating Euthydemus I.
[5] V. A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 5; H. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 62.
[6] Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxvi; Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 449.
[7] Tarn, pp. 75–76.

demus; they might be taken to show his relationship to Diodotus, but there is no reason to connect Diodotus with Euthydemus.[1] Mme Trever remarks that the very realistic portrait of Antimachus Theos shows a man with a Greek name but with a face of a very un-Greek type, and suggests that he was a Sogdian. On the basis of physiognomy she refuses to believe that he was a son of Euthydemus I.[2]

It is certain that Antimachus came to power soon or perhaps immediately after the death of Euthydemus I. It is evident from his coins that when he obtained power he was of middle age. His portrait is one of the most pronouncedly individual in the whole Bactrian series.[3] The appearance of Poseidon on the main issue of Antimachus Theos is also remarkable.[4] And Tarn has noted that a startling feature of Antimachus' coins is that on them he calls himself 'Theos', 'the God', and that no king of any of the western dynasties used this title on his coins until Antiochus IV.[5] Obviously Antimachus Theos was a claimant to the throne who commemorated Diodotus and Euthydemus to win the support of both factions; but probably his sympathies were chiefly with Diodotus, since he adopted the 'thunderbolt', an attribute of Zeus, for one of his important issues.[6] It is possible that in *c.* 190, when Demetrius I was busy with his conquests in the south,[7] Antimachus Theos started his career by eliminating Euthydemus II, who was ruling in the north.

Tarn thought of Antimachus Theos as a sub-king of Demetrius I in Margiana—the Greater Margiana as he calls it.[8] Antimachus Theos has often been connected with the Kabul valley also,[9] and even with Taxila.[10] Trever has suggested that he started his career in Sogdiana and that, as the cap which he wears may be connected with a much later type of Chinese head-dress, he may have ruled in districts which were not far from the borders of China.[11] Although it is difficult to agree with Trever's theory wholeheartedly,

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 18–19, and *infra*, pp. 60–61.
[2] Trever, p. 7. [3] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 449.
[4] See *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, pp. 5–6.
[5] Tarn, p. 91. [6] See *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, p. 6.
[7] *Supra*, p. 24. [8] Tarn, pp. 88–89.
[9] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 118. [10] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 856.
[11] Trever, p. 125. It is true that the type of *kausia* which Antimachus Theos wears is unknown in any Greek series of coinage as far as we know, but this cap was known to classical literature. It is said that Alexander wore this cap on some informal occasions and that it was a Macedonian head-dress.

it is likely that Antimachus Theos set up his new kingdom somewhere in eastern Bactria or Badakshan, north of the Hindu Kush; the Qunduz hoard in the Kabul Museum contains more coins of Antimachus Theos than of Demetrius I, and has two specimens of his very rare commemorative medals.[1] It was probably from that region that he made incursions into the Kabul and the Upper Indus valleys, and possibly gained control of parts of the Paropamisadae. He was the first Yavana king to strike square coins on the Indian model.[2] These coins cannot be later than the bilingual coins of Demetrius II.[3] Whitehead[4] and Allan[5] agree that he may even have temporarily occupied Taxila on the strength of his unique square coin of Taxila type. There is no proof, however, of a permanent occupation, but undoubtedly he was the first Yavana king to cross the Hindu Kush to the south. It is likely that after the death of Demetrius I he included Bactria also in his kingdom, and may have extended his realm in the west to Margiana, where his coins are also found.[6]

There is some controversy over the significance of Poseidon on the coins of Antimachus Theos. It has been suggested that the figure records a naval victory, probably on the Indus.[7] But this raises certain difficulties. With whose fleet did he fight on the Indus and was there a royal fleet of the Indo-Greeks in India at that time? Tarn thought that Antimachus had no connexion with India, and since no Bactrian king reached or used the 'unnavigated' Caspian, he considered the Oxus to be the only place where Antimachus could have won a naval victory, probably against the Scythian Massagetae.[8] But Burn has rightly raised the question why Poseidon should be connected at all with naval battles on

[1] There are 14 coins of Antimachus Theos as against only 8 of Demetrius I. Though in itself this is no proof it may suggest his prominence in that area as compared to that of Demetrius I.

[2] Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 104, Pl. VIII. 2. Allan, in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 856, notes that a coin of Taxila (*BMC Ancient India*, Pl. XXXII, 21) was countermarked by Antimachus Theos with his title and thunderbolt, but we are unable to verify this.

[3] *PMC*, Pl. I. 26; *NC*, 1923, Pl. XIV. 2. The progress towards the Indianization of the Indo-Greek coinage seems to be first in the shape and then in the legend.

[4] *NC*, 1940, p. 16.

[5] Allan, op. cit., p. 856.

[6] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 119.

[7] Ibid., p. 118; Gutschmid, p. 47; Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxix; Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 107.

[8] Tarn, pp. 90–91.

rivers; the cult of Poseidon in inland towns like Mantinea and Rhaucus had nothing to do with naval victories.[1] Other examples may be found of kings of mountainous, steppe, and desert countries putting Poseidon the sea-god on their coins in the third and second centuries B.C.[2] At this time he was remembered as a god not only of the sea, but also of springs and rivers, the fructifier and nourisher of plants; he was near to Mother Earth, Demeter. He was not only the giver of water but the creator and protector of horses; sacrifices were made to him in hippodromes.[3] It is possible that the kingdom of Antimachus included some of the areas where the 'heavenly horses' of the Chinese sources were bred or was contiguous to them.[4] At that time the presence of a god on a coin was not necessarily connected with great events, but represented the patron deity of the king or his family. Local artistic conventions probably did not admit the same degree of nudity as did those of the Greeks; the Poseidon on Antimachus' coinage was therefore given a robe and a palm in his left hand.[5]

There is no trace of overweening pride on Antimachus' face,[6] yet he takes the title 'Theos'. This is embarrassing if he is considered as a younger son and sub-king of Euthydemus,[7] for Euthydemus I did not take any epithet on his own coins. Citing the examples of Alexander and Antigonus Gonatas, who had been ironical about their claims to divinity, Tarn says, 'irony might be the explanation of Antimachus' adoption of the divine title: this is what the Great Kings think, so let a small king say it'.[8] This is hardly convincing; nor is there any reason to underestimate Antimachus Theos. No Greek king or Parthian before him seems to have taken this epithet officially. Antiochus IV, who also called himself 'Theos', was probably later than Antimachus, and if there was borrowing it must have been on the part of the Seleucid, as Tarn admits.[9] The Parthian king[10] Phriapatius, who seems to have adopted this epithet, must also have borrowed it from Antimachus Theos.[11] Among the

[1] R. Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65.

[2] Trever, p. 128.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Probably the same reason accounts for the horse on the coins of the Euthydemi, *supra*, p. 27.

[5] Poseidon also appears on the copper money of Nicias and Hippostratus, who may be connected with Antimachus Theos through Antimachus II Nicephorus; cf. *infra*, p. 102.

[6] Cf. Pl. I. 7, 8.

[7] Tarn, p. 90.

[8] Ibid., p. 92.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, pp. xxix–xxx.

[11] Tarn, loc. cit.

Śaka and Pahlava kings of India only Gondophernes[1] and a certain Arsaces[2] took it. But the Kuṣāṇa kings, who called themselves *Devaputra*, evidently had similar ideas of royal divinity.[3] It is probable that the Kuṣāṇas, who may well have started their career somewhere in eastern Bactria or Badakshan, took such ideas from the local traditions; and Antimachus Theos also may have done so at an earlier period.[4]

Thus Antimachus Theos was a successful man, who seems both to have conformed to local traditions and to have appeased the rival factions of Diodotus and Euthydemus. But he probably started his career late in his life, and the expansion of the Yavana kingdom towards Takṣaśilā achieved success only in the generation that followed him. From his coins it seems that he cannot have ruled for more than ten years and therefore he died in *c.* 180; had he lived longer and occupied Taxila or even the whole of the Kabul valley, he would have commenced the practice of issuing bilingual coins.

It was Demetrius II who first struck bilingual coins. Until the remarkable discovery of R. B. Whitehead[5] this assertion was questionable, since the square copper coin with the elephant-scalp bust of the king was attributed to Demetrius I. It is now certain that the Demetrius who struck the silver bilingual coin bearing the standing Zeus with the thunderbolt[6] is the same as the Demetrius who struck the square copper pieces with the thunderbolt on one side,[7] since the two coins bear the same epithet and monogram. The types are linked, and the legends on their obverse and reverse are identical. The elephant-scalp head dress is no more the monopoly of Demetrius I than is the flat 'kausia' of Antimachus Theos. The conclusion is irresistible that both these series, the silver and copper, were the issues of Demetrius II; Tarn admitted this,

[1] *BMC*, Pl. XXII. 7, p. 103.
[2] *PMC*, p. 160, *BMC*, Pl. XXXII. 12.
[3] Cf. Kuṣāṇa inscriptions in *CII*, ii, Pt. I.
[4] Sylvain Lévi (*JA*, 1934, pp. 1–21), has questioned the general view that the Kuṣāṇas got the notions of royal divinity from the Chinese. He thought that the title *Devaputra* (the son of God) was not directly related to the Chinese *T'ien tsüe* (the son of Heaven), but that the Kuṣāṇas took the concept from an intermediary form, the Pahlavi *baypuhr* borrowed by the Sogdians as *baypūr* = prince (cf. Sogdian *baypus* = *devaputra*). The fact that this word is found only in a late Sogdian text does not mean that the idea of royal divinity did not exist in earlier Sogdiana and the adjoining regions.
[5] *NC*, 1923, pp. 300–1, Pl. XIV. 2.
[6] Ibid.; see also Pl. I. 9.
[7] *PMC*, Pl. I. 26; see also Pl. I. 11.

although he supposed that the title of 'Aniketos' was adopted by Demetrius I, who, he maintained, was imitating Alexander in assuming it.[1] Neither Euthydemus I nor Demetrius I adopted titles on their own coins, though Diodotus I had done so. It was Agathocles who transferred the title 'Aniketos' to Demetrius I in his commemorative medals,[2] just as he, and earlier Antimachus Theos, had transferred the title 'Theos' to Euthydemus I.[3] Demetrius II, who issued bilingual coins, the proof of an accomplishment which his predecessors had only thought of, may deservedly have taken the title of 'Aniketos'; for it is he who is called the king of 'India' in the Western classical sources, and he was a contemporary of Eucratides.[4] For obvious reasons the silver bilingual piece is later than the coins of Demetrius I and Antimachus Theos; it initiates two new conventions, the practice of having the legend both on the obverse and reverse, and the change in the weight standard; moreover, it gives for the first time an equivalent for the Greek title in an Indian language.

It is now generally agreed that the Demetrius coins of the Pallas type are the issues of Demetrius II.[5] Probably they were struck before he occupied the Kabul valley, and were meant to circulate in the regions north of the Hindu Kush. This type of coin, which was once rare, is now known in considerable numbers, and the portrait on the coin illustrated in *CHI* by Macdonald can no longer be looked on as typical.[6] The only definitely known find-spot of these coins is Qunduz, but a few other coins of uncertain provenance exist.[7]

From the ordinary rules of nomenclature it may be suggested that this Demetrius II was a son or a grandson of Demetrius I. On the other hand, numismatic evidence links him with Antimachus

[1] Tarn, p. 138.
[2] *NC*, 1934, Pl. III. 1. The coin is still unique and it has a rather unusual monogram ☧.
[3] For Agathocles' coin commemorating Euthydemus cf. *BMC*, Pl. IV. 3, and for Antimachus Theos commemorating Euthydemus cf. *BM*; see also *infra*, pp. 60–61.
[4] *Supra*, p. 34, *infra*, pp. 57–58.
[5] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 448; Tarn, p. 77. Those who believed earlier that these were the issues of Demetrius I thought that they were struck by him before his conquests in India, when he was a young man and probably ruled in Arachosia (cf. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 159).
[6] Cf. *CHI*, Pl. III. 5, and *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3, Pl. V. 4–6.
[7] There are as many as fifty coins in the Qunduz hoard. Cf. *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1954; *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3, p. 2.

Theos. The face on the silver bilingual coins is more like that on some of the coins of Antimachus than that of Demetrius I[1]—there is at least a tempting resemblance between them.[2] There are other features also which indicate some connexion between the two. The thunderbolt occurs on the square coins of both Antimachus Theos and Demetrius Aniketos;[3] the Poseidon of Antimachus is represented by his trident on some copper coins of Demetrius,[4] which must pertain to Demetrius II since four specimens of this rare type have been found in Taxila and near Attock.[5] Antimachus Theos must have had his sympathies with the family of Diodotus, since he adopted the attribute of Zeus, their patron deity, for one of his types of coins, or he may even have been connected with it; Demetrius II also adopted Pallas from the Diodoti, for the standing Pallas on his coins is very similar to the description given by Whitehead of a copper type of Diodotus.[6] The occurrence of the caduceus reminds us of those copper coins of Diodotus which have two crossed caducei on one side.[7] The elephant's head on one side of that coin-type of Demetrius may be connected with the elephant of Antimachus' copper. That the 'elephant's head and caduceus' type[8] was surely struck by Demetrius II is attested by the fact that later it was copied by Maues,[9] who could have imitated only those coins which were circulating in Gandhāra.[10] Moreover, the most common if not the only monograms ([monogram] Δ,) found on the Attic monolingual tetradrachms of Demetrius II had already appeared on the coins of Antimachus Theos; the monogram [monogram] of his bilingual tetradrachm is the same as that on his copper square coin.[11] The evidence seems to indicate that Demetrius II Aniketos succeeded Antimachus Theos, and if anything is to be inferred from facial resemblance the latter may have been the father of the former.

Demetrius II must also have made some headway in Gandhāra

[1] See Pl. I, Nos. 5–9.
[2] Mr. G. K. Jenkins is also of the same opinion.
[3] *NC*, 1940, Pl. VIII. 2; *PMC*, Pl. I. 26. Cf. also Pl. I. 10, 11.
[4] *IMC*, Pl. I. 12.
[5] One coin found in the Taxila excavations (*Taxila*, ii. 798), two specimens found by Whitehead near Attock (*NC*, 1923, p. 342), and one more from Taxila in the possession of H. de S. Shortt.
[6] *PMC*, p. 10, Pl. I. 4 (the reverse is not illustrated), also *White King Sale Catalogue*, No. 7.
[7] Newell, *ESM*, Pl. LIII. 9.
[8] *CHI*, Pl. VI. 1.
[9] *CHI*, Pl. VI. 2; *BMC*, Pl. XVI. 1.
[10] Cf. *infra*, pp. 147, 151–2, where we show that Maues did not rule west of Gandhāra.
[11] Cf. Pl. I. 9, 11.

and he may well have occupied its western districts; the discovery of one of his coins in the Taxila excavations[1] does not prove that he included this city in his kingdom. The first Indo-Greek king who had some hold over Taxila was definitely Agathocles.[2]

If Demetrius II succeeded Antimachus in *c.* 180 he may have reigned until *c.* 165, by which time, as we shall see below, Eucratides must have superseded him.

Justin has given important information on the career and achievement of Eucratides. According to him Eucratides started his reign simultaneously with Mithridates I of Parthia, and both were outstanding kings. The former carried on several wars with great vigour in Sogdiana, Aria, Arachosia, Drangiana, and India. He withstood a siege by Demetrius II, but, being harassed in all these wars,[3] he probably lost two satrapies to the Parthians.[4] When Eucratides was returning from his campaigns in India he was murdered in cold blood by his son, whom he had made a joint-king.[5] Strabo states that Eucratides ruled over 'a thousand cities'.[6] We do not know whether Justin meant to give any sequence to the events of his career except the beginning and end of his reign. His account is a mere skeleton of history, but life can be brought to it by means of complementary evidence.

The usual view is that Mithridates I ascended the throne in *c.* 171;[7] so Eucratides must have started his reign at about the same time. It has more than once been suggested that Eucratides had some connexion with the Seleucids;[8] also that Antiochus IV may have been behind him.[9] It was considered that the 'bead-and-reel' border on the coins of Eucratides was Seleucid, and that Laodice, 'a common name in the royal house of Syria', who is represented on the coins of Eucratides[10] as wearing a diadem[11] along with a certain Heliocles who is bareheaded, was a Seleucid queen.[12] But

[1] *Taxila*, ii. 798.
[2] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 856–7.
[3] Justin, xli. 6.
[4] Strabo, xi. 11. 2.
[5] Justin, loc. cit.
[6] Strabo quotes Apollodorus for this statement but he himself doubts it (xv. 1. 3).
[7] Debevoise, op. cit., p. 19.
[8] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 454; Tarn, p. 184.
[9] Macdonald, loc cit.; but he admits that it is 'pure speculation'. Tarn, p. 184, accepts this suggestion and elaborates it.
[10] *PMC*, Pl. IX. iv. We have discovered another variety of the Heliocles–Laodice type, which has been missed by scholars. Cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, p. 12; *Hirsch Sale Catalogue*, 1912, Pl. XIV. 524; cf. Pl. II. 1.
[11] It has sometimes been doubted if she wears a diadem at all.
[12] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 454; Tarn, p. 197.

the 'bead-and-reel' border is found to occur on the coins of Demetrius I,[1] Antimachus Theos,[2] and Demetrius II,[3] who were certainly not Seleucids. Names such as that of Laodice were so commonly used in Greek royal families that we cannot base any theories on their occurrence; besides the two Demetrii we have dealt with, there were princes of the same name in the family of Seleucus and in that of his rival, Antigonus of Macedonia. Tarn thought that the bull's horn and ear on the helmet used by Eucratides might be another argument in favour of his Seleucid connexions.[4] But it is not always safe to connect this type of helmet or a bull's horn forming part of the head-dress with the Seleucids;[5] the Seleucid kings themselves do not generally use this helmet on their own coins.[6] We therefore agree with Cunningham, who noticed this long ago and said that it had 'no special significance'; it is possible that the bull's ear and horn may be symbolic only of the great strength of the wearer.[7]

Tarn believes that Laodice was a daughter of Seleucus II and Heliocles a governor of the 'upper (eastern) satrapies' under Antiochus III.[8] Eucratides was therefore a cousin of Antiochus IV, the latter's governor of the 'upper satrapies'.[9] Antiochus IV, who failed miserably in the west, was given the title 'Saviour of Asia' by Philippus, his minister 'for affairs', hence he must have saved Asia, by which Tarn meant the Seleucid empire, from some opponent who, Tarn says, was no other than Demetrius I.[10] Antiochus Epiphanes—the God Manifest—meant to restore Alexander's empire in the east so that 'there might be a second great power in the world as a counterpoise to Rome'. Tarn thought

[1] BM cast. Cf. *Naville Sale Catalogue*, vii, No. 1790.
[2] *Ex* Qunduz hoard. Cf. NNM (NSI), No. 3, Pl. II. 7.
[3] *NC*, 1951, Pl. IV. 12.
[4] Tarn, p. 196.
[5] e.g. Demetrius Poliorcetes (306–283 B.C.) uses the bull's horn. Cf. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (London, 1932), Pl. 29. 9–10.
[6] Except on a copper of Alexander Balas (152–144 B.C.) we have not been able to find a Seleucid king using a crested helmet of Eucratides' type on his coins; but the helmet worn by Alexander Balas does not bear a bull's horn. Cf. *BMC Seleucid*, Pl. XVI. 11. Also one copper of Demetrius II. Cf. *NC*. 1951, Pl. I. 9.
[7] *CASE*, p. 181. He also suspected that the ear was that of a horse, which, combined with the bull's horn, may have some reference to Alexander's horse Bucephalus.
[8] Tarn, p. 197.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 195.

that Antiochus IV arranged the festival at Daphne[1] and a 'thanksgiving ceremony' (*charisteria*) at Babylon to celebrate a military triumph.[2] But it is strange that the king who was so pompous in his triumph did not himself campaign in the east, where his victories were achieved for him by his viceroy Eucratides, because 'that was that official's business, if the king was not going to command in person'.[3] This seems to be little more than a surmise.

It is now generally agreed that the commemorative pieces of Eucratides represent his parents[4] rather than the marriage of his son with a royal princess.[5] We may agree with Macdonald that we need not take Laodice as the daughter of Demetrius, which was the view of some early scholars;[6] there is no evidence to prove that this was the name of the bride of Demetrius, or of any of her children.[7] But similarly we have seen that there is no evidence to connect Laodice with the Seleucid family only; she may well have belonged to some other family. Significant is the absence of the diadem on the head of Heliocles. Heliocles is considered by Tarn to have been the governor of such an important area that his responsibility was almost that of a joint-king; he is supposed to have succeeded the eldest son of Antiochus III, who was a joint-king with Antiochus III up to 193.[8] On this assumption it is strange that he did not strike coins in his own right or even jointly with his queen Laodice, and stranger that Eucratides was content to commemorate his father without any pretensions to royalty. Not long after this time Timarchus, a governor of Media, issued his own money.[9] Even if Heliocles was too meek, quiescent, and obedient to do what Timarchus did later, it is surprising that, in reply to such issues of the Euthydemids as those commemorating Alexander and Antiochus II (or III), Eucratides chose to relate himself to a man of unknown importance and an insignificant

[1] In 167 B.C. Lucius Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, celebrated triumphal games at Amphipolis, to which the whole Greek world was invited. Antiochus, who would not be bettered by a Roman and thought of himself as conqueror of Egypt, arranged a lavish display of games, gladiatorial shows, wild beasts fights, &c., in Daphne, the paradise of Antioch (cf. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 145–6).
[2] Tarn, p. 195.
[3] Ibid., p. 197.
[4] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 163: Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxiv; Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 453.
[5] von Sallet, pp. 23 ff., 103.
[6] Ibid., Rawlinson, *Bactria*, pp. 153–7.
[7] Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 454.
[8] Tarn, p. 197.
[9] *BMC Seleucid*, p. 50; von Sallet, p. 103.

princess whose connexions we cannot discover. Such an important personage as Eucratides, supposed to be so vitally connected with the Seleucids, would surely have indicated his relationship more clearly. Moreover, that the 'Greco-Macedonian' settlers of the Seleucid empire had an abiding loyalty to the person of the Seleucid king[1] may be true of most of the empire, but it was not true of the east. What happened in Bactria and other areas in the east when Seleucus I and Antiochus III had occasion to test the settlers' loyalty need not be restated here.[2] In the circumstances of the time there was no necessity for any Indo-Greek king to support his claim by tracing relationship to the Seleucid. Moreover, it is not clear to us to whose sentiments the king would appeal by doing so. It is striking that such prominent kings as Euthydemus I, Demetrius I and II, and Menander did not issue commemorative pieces showing their family connexions. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that the commemorative medals of the Indo-Greek kings were pedigree coins.

We cannot attribute to Antiochus IV plans and achievements which he had neither the statesmanship to envisage nor the resources to carry out. The growing power of Rome and of Parthia placed the Seleucid kingdom between two fires. Antiochus III had been signally defeated at Magnesia, and by the treaty of Apamea in 188 Rome had forbidden the Seleucids to recruit mercenaries in Asia Minor.[3] Within twenty-five years occurred that ignominious 'day of Eleusis' when, as Antiochus IV at the head of a victorious army was about to decide the fate of Alexandria, a Roman envoy with a walking-stick ordered him out of Egypt, and the abject king sent congratulations on the Roman victory over Perseus,[4] the event which was immediately responsible for Rome's rude behaviour to Antiochus IV.[5] This apparently cowardly swallowing of an insult was thought by Tarn to show 'the self control and long views' of the king.[6] But Bevan has remarked that 'orders delivered him by Roman envoys were equivalent to divine commands'.[7] To attack Rome was out of the question. An advance in the east, beyond Parthia, was also out of the question after the return of Antiochus III, who saw the utter futility of any such campaign. After this, the eastern policy of the Seleucids was

[1] Tarn, p. 202. [2] *Supra*, pp. 8–9. [3] Tarn, p. 186.
[4] Bevan, op. cit., p. 145.
[5] Ibid., p. 144. [6] Tarn, p. 192. [7] Bevan, op. cit., p. 145.

almost wholly concerned with Parthia; the Seleucid Demetrius II attacked Parthia but was made a prisoner. The presence of Parthia between the Seleucid kingdom and that of the Indo-Greeks should never be ignored; one might help the other against Parthia, but a Seleucid king could not attack the Indo-Greeks in the east without involving the Parthians.

Against this background we cannot believe that Eucratides was the cousin of Antiochus IV, a brilliant general whose services were not needed in the west, but who was sent by the extravagant king to restore the empire[1] when Seleucus I and Antiochus III had already failed in the attempt. We need not seek hypothetical victories to explain the ostentation of the festival of Daphne which, as Bevan believed,[2] was chiefly due to Antiochus' vainglorious love of pomp and ceremony. Also it is difficult to understand why Eucratides, if he was acting on behalf of the Seleucid, had a force of only 300 soldiers![3] Moreover, if he had been a Seleucid general it might be expected that he would refer to Antiochus III or Antiochus IV, whose commission he held, in his commemorative coins.

Justin states explicitly that Eucratides rose to power in Bactria itself and that, with only a few men under his command, by continued adventurous sallies he expelled the reigning king. He was in fact an upstart, probably born of a princess of a royal blood whose claim to the throne had been by-passed. We do not know whether she was a daughter of Diodotus II or of Euthydemus I, but she gave a *locus standi* to Eucratides in Bactria.

Eucratides probably achieved his success when Demetrius II Aniketos was busy occupying new lands in the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. He had only a small army, but with his picked men he managed to gain control of the northern parts of the kingdom, so that Demetrius II had to leave his newly won areas in the south under a general or sub-king and hasten northwards. It was probably at this time that Eucratides was taken unawares in one of his campaigns and was besieged by the large army of Demetrius II Aniketos.[4] But, as Justin informs us, by making continual sallies

[1] Tarn, p. 198.
[2] Bevan, op. cit., pp. 145 f.
[3] Justin, xli. 6. Tarn (p. 200) thought that it was the normal figure for the *agema* (bodyguard) of one in Eucratides' position.
[4] Justin, xli. 6: 'multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit, quibus adtritus, cum CCC militibus LX milia hostium adsiduis eruptionibus vicit. . .'.

he was successful, and Demetrius II may well have been killed. The success of Eucratides, though due to his own leadership, seems to have depended to some extent also upon disaffected elements.

Eucratides did not rest after the death of Demetrius II. Evidently he aspired to become a Great King, and to outshine the achievements of all his predecessors including Demetrius II. He therefore proceeded to conquer 'India',[1] the Paropamisadae, and areas in Gandhāra, Aria, Arachosia, and Drangiana. This must have taken place after a period of consolidation in the key provinces to prevent a repetition of the errors of Demetrius II. Meanwhile we must turn to the regions in the south and south-east which were to engage his later career.

Aria with Margiana had come into the possession of Antimachus Theos[2] and was probably held by Demetrius Aniketos. It must have been part of the kingdom of Eucratides before he marched on Arachosia and Drangiana through the Kabul–Ghazni road,[3] that is, after he had occupied the Paropamisadae.

The fate of Arachosia and Drangiana after the death of Demetrius I is uncertain. Before he returned to Bactria Demetrius I must have left a general or sub-king to govern the newly won possessions, where he was soon to be superseded by Antimachus Theos. Tarn thought that Apollodotus I was the first sub-king appointed by Demetrius I over Arachosia and Drangiana, and that he was succeeded there by Pantaleon and Agathocles.[5] But Apollodotus I, if he existed,[6] cannot be dated earlier than the two latter kings.[7] We believe that they were the joint-kings of Arachosia and Drangiana[8] when Demetrius I died in Bactria. Probably Antimachus and Demetrius II could not make much headway in those areas; the presence of only a few coins of Antimachus in Arachosia and Seistan[9] does not prove their control of these provinces, but it may have influenced the determination of the coin-types of Pantaleon and Agathocles, which represent 'enthroned Zeus holding Hecate'[10] and 'draped Zeus standing' respectively.[11] Pantaleon and Agathocles,

[1] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 860. [2] Tarn, p. 95.
[3] According to Tarn, Eucratides followed a different route, cf. p. 199.
[4] *Supra*, pp. 47–48. [5] Tarn, pp. 95, 134, 156–7.
[6] We are doubtful about the existence of an Apollodotus I, cf. *infra*, pp. 64–69.
[7] Marshall, op. cit. i. 29–30; Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 857.
[8] Marshall, loc. cit., reconstructs in a different way.
[9] Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 119–20; Schlumberger, p. 75.
[10] *BMC*, Pl. XXX. 4; *CHI*, Pl. III. 6–7. [11] *BMC*, Pl. IV. 4.

who are believed to have been the sons of Demetrius I, may have abandoned the usual type of their family, Heracles, because they wished to show some connexion with the family of Diodotus, just as Antimachus Theos and Demetrius II were probably doing.

Probably Pantaleon and Agathocles were brothers, and they may have been sons of Demetrius I.[1] Their coins have types and monograms in common, and are strikingly similar in style.[2] Since Agathocles struck extra types and his coins are more numerous than those of Pantaleon,[3] the latter may have predeceased him, and did not share the exploits of Agathocles' later career.[4] We suggest that when Eucratides rose to power and Demetrius II became increasingly engaged in the north, where he was ultimately overthrown, these brothers expanded their kingdom. From Arachosia they marched up to Kabul, and to celebrate their victory they struck coins in honour of Dionysus,[5] the mythical conqueror of the Kabul valley before Alexander; this must also have pleased the fancy of the descendants of the old Greek settlers. Probably they did not venture to occupy Bactria, for their coins are very rare there. But they extended their empire towards the east. Attempts had probably been made already by Antimachus and Demetrius II in that direction, but with no permanent results. It seems that both the brothers proceeded to occupy western Gandhāra, but by the time Taxila was occupied Pantaleon had died; this is shown from the fact that whereas both strike coins of the 'Indian goddess and maneless lion' type,[6] only Agathocles strikes the 'hirañasame' coins[7] and those which bear the '*stūpa* and tree-in-railing'.[8] The attribution of these types to the region of Taxila seems certain,[9] and it is difficult to agree with the suggestion that they were struck at Kāpiśī.[10] Allan is perhaps right in saying that the earliest Indo-Greek coins in Taxila are, however, those which bear the 'elephant

[1] Tarn, pp. 76–77.
[2] *BMC*, p. xxvii; *CASE*, pp. 120–1.
[3] Cf. for their coin-types, *NNM* (*NSI*) No. 1, pp. 1–7.
[4] It is generally agreed that Pantaleon died earlier than Agathocles (cf. Tarn, p. 157).
[5] *PMC*, Pl. II. 43; *BMC*, Pl. IV. 6–8.
[6] *PMC*, Pl. II. 35; *BMC*, Pls. III. 9, IV. 9. The description of the obv. female figure as 'dancing girl' is not correct (cf. Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 858).
[7] *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II. 51, the kharoṣṭhī legend was read as *hitajasame*, but cf. Allan, *BMC*, pp. cxxxi ff., and Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 857.
[8] *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II. 53.
[9] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 857.
[10] Tarn, p. 161.

and horse' with Ᾱ below the horse.[1] On them there is a plant before the elephant on the obverse, and a star above the horse on the reverse. The star and plant link these coins with the other Taxila coins bearing the name of Agathocles, and it might be suggested that Ᾱ stands for Agathocles.[2] Cunningham, however, suggested that Ᾱ is the monogram TA, the mint-mark of Taxila,[3] and Allan agrees that the use of a monogram to indicate a mint is more in keeping with the Greek practice than its use as an abbreviation of a king's name.[4] The use of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets on the money of Agathocles[5] reminds us of similar use in the local 'negama' coins of Taxila,[6] and in our opinion they probably give no evidence that Agathocles extended Greek power to the east of that city towards the territories of the Audumbaras and Kuṇindas.[7]

For a time Agathocles must have possessed parts of Gandhāra including Taxila. The Indo-Greek kingdom was thus enlarged and its power extended to new regions. This was an occasion which Agathocles may well have wished to celebrate. He chose some prominent personalities, including Demetrius I, probably his father, and struck medals commemorating them. Besides Demetrius I[8] the list included Alexander,[9] Antiochus II (or III),[10] Diodotus I,[11] and Euthydemus I.[12] We are unable to follow Tarn's conclusion that the commemorative medals struck by Agathocles show his pedigree,[13] and thereby justify his claim to rule against Eucratides who was, according to Tarn, commissioned by the Seleucids and who had the backing of Antiochus IV.[14] We have shown that there is no reason to believe that the Indo-Greeks could strengthen their claims to sovereignty by showing to the people their attachment to the Seleucids. And so there is no need to postulate that the com-

[1] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 857; *BMC Ancient India*, Pl. XXXIII. 7.
[2] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 857.
[3] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 62.
[4] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 858.
[5] *PMC*, pp. 17–18.
[6] Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, Pl. XXXI. 1–6.
[7] But cf. Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 858.
[8] *NC*, 1934, Pl. III. 1; cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, p. 9 for the description of this and the other commemorative medals.
[9] *BMC*, Pl. IV. 1; *PMC*, Pl. II. 41.
[10] Cunningham, *CASE*, Pl. II. 3.
[11] *BMC*, Pl. IV. 2.
[12] Tarn, Appendix 3, 'Agathocles' Pedigree Coins', pp. 446 ff. [13] Ibid. 3.
[14] Tarn, pp. 201, 263, 439–40, 446–51; cf. his chapter V on Antiochus IV and Eucratides.

memorative medals of the Indo-Greek kings[1] are pedigree coins tracing their ancestry back to the Seleucids and even to Alexander. Tarn himself admits that there was actually no relationship between Alexander and Seleucus I;[2] similarly, we have no evidence to show that Antiochus II (or III), Diodotus I, and Euthydemus I were all related by matrimonial ties. Altheim is right when he says that if the medals of Agathocles were really pedigree coins he would not have failed to commemorate Seleucus I himself.[3] We must also note that on the basis of our evidence only one person can be named who actually came into conflict with Eucratides, and that was Demetrius, in our opinion Demetrius II.[4] But no evidence, literary or numismatic, exists to show that Agathocles came into direct conflict with Eucratides; why, therefore, should he have taken pains to show his pedigree in order to win the sentiments of the Greeks, when Demetrius II did not do so, and, more surprisingly, when even Eucratides did not depict on his coins any of the known personalities of the Seleucid dynasty?[5] We are not convinced, therefore, that the commemorative medals of Agathocles are pedigree coins.

The coins of Agathocles show that he must have ruled for some time after Pantaleon's death; both the brothers may have covered twenty years after the death of Demetrius I in 185 B.C., and thus Agathocles died at about the same time as Demetrius II.

[1] Antimachus Theos and Eucratides also struck commemorative medals.
[2] Tarn, p. 447: 'Now as a matter of history it is certain that Alexander had no relative named Apama. . . .' His point is that in the first century B.C. there was in existence in the Middle East a 'fictitious pedigree' of the Seleucid house which derived the descent of the dynasty from Alexander. But there is no evidence to suggest even a fictitious pedigree tracing the Indo-Greeks back to the Seleucids, as we have in the case of the latter, and the matrimonial connexions supposed by Tarn have no sound basis.
[3] Altheim, i. 22, also ii. 55.
[4] The evidence of the Eucratides' overstrike on Apollodotus might have been considered here had there been certainty of the existence of an Apollodotus I, but cf. *infra*, pp. 64–69, 122–6.
[5] Tarn (p. 439) maintains that the 'pedigree coins' of Agathocles were struck for him in Bactria, as would be natural in the case of a sub-king. But it is strange that Demetrius (I), who according to Tarn was the main rival of Eucratides, and who was rather 'Hellenistic', should himself have missed the opportunity of tracing his relationship to the Seleucids and Alexander on his own coins; and why he should have chosen Agathocles and Antimachus (I) among his sub-kings, especially when the coins were minted for them in Bactria. As a matter of fact the coins show that Agathocles was a more important figure than Demetrius I, and, on Tarn's hypothesis, must have been a sub-king out of all proportion to his master.

The death of Demetrius II and Agathocles facilitated the occupation of the Kabul valley, Arachosia, and possibly parts of Seistan by Eucratides. His coins have been found in the Kabul valley in large numbers, but the statement of Cunningham[1] that 'many thousands' were discovered at Begram is not confirmed by Masson's account.[2] Having firmly established himself in the possession of the Paropamisadae, Eucratides thought himself entitled to the 'greatness' Justin has given him;[3] Demetrius II, having occupied the Kabul region, called himself Aniketos; Eucratides, having conquered it, called himself Megas. Eucratides is one of the two kings after Euthydemus I who struck gold coins, the other being Menander.[4] Besides one or two staters,[5] he is known to have issued a twenty-stater gold medallion,[6] the largest gold piece of antiquity. His type and title on coins spread and became popular; Timarchus, the rebel satrap of Media, used them[7] and, if this is so, Eucratides must have achieved his success in the Paropamisadae before the year 162, the date of Timarchus' revolt.[8]

A few copper coins giving the name of Eucratides and bearing on the reverse the image of a deity and the superscription *Kaviṣiye Nagaradevata*,[9] are usually considered a proof of Eucratides' conquest of the Kabul valley. But we are doubtful whether these coins were actually struck by Eucratides I,[10] although this does not affect our conclusion that Eucratides I did occupy the Paropamisadae. It was conventional until recently to describe the deity on the coin as Zeus seated on a throne.[11] Cunningham probably suggested this identification because at that time he had only poor specimens to work upon.[12] This 'Zeus' was uncritically accepted by successive writers[13] as late as Whitehead in 1923,[14] and the identification was

[1] *CASE*, p. 177.
[2] *JASB*, 1836, p. 547, also *NC*, 1947, p. 40.
[3] Justin, xli. 6.
[4] An uninscribed gold coin is generally ascribed to Menander, cf. *infra*, p. 99.
[5] *NC*, 1923, p. 318, Pl. XIV. 4.
[6] Seltman, *Greek Coins*, Pl. LV. 5. It was first published in *Revue Numismatique*, 1867, Pl. XII.
[7] Gardner, *BMC*, p. xxvi; Tarn, pp. 212, 218; von Sallet, p. 103.
[8] Tarn, loc. cit.
[9] *PMC*, Pl. III. 131; *BMC*, Pl. VI. 8. Cf. for an enlarged illustration Pl. IV. 8.
[10] We give our reasons in Ch. V, pp. 123–4.
[11] *BMC*, p. 19; *PMC*, p. 26; *NC*, 1923, pp. 318–19.
[12] *CASE*, p. 169.
[13] Gardner, op. cit.; Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 784, *CHI*, pp. 555 f.; Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 26.
[14] *NC*, 1923, pp. 318–19.

adopted by Tarn[1] and Marshall.[2] However, Zeus is never depicted on coins of this series without his attribute or attributes; he nearly always holds his sceptre as king of the gods, and usually the aegis and thunderbolt in addition. In the present case not only are these attributes absent,[3] but the figure is specifically described as the city-deity of Kāpiśī; it is accompanied by two symbols, a mountain[4] and the head of an elephant. On the evidence of Hsüan Tsang, Rapson thought that this 'Zeus' represents the 'Elephant-god' connected with the capital of Kapiśa;[5] important hypotheses were built on this claim by later writers, for it was said that this was the characteristic coin-type of the house of Eucratides in the Kabul valley.[6] But the coins of this type which were first discovered and illustrated were not distinct enough to show the details of the figure, and doubts were already expressed as to its identity with Zeus. von Sallet compared it with a figure on the money of Hippostratus.[7] It is noteworthy that Charles Masson, the discoverer of the piece, described it as a 'female deity sitting, with turretted crown like Cybele'.[8] Attempts have been made by later writers also to identify the deity. J. N. Banerjea suggested an identification with Indra,[9] who was known to be the *Yakṣa* of Indrapura in the *Mahāmāyurī*.[10] This Indrapura he finds in the name *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu* of Hsüan Tsang, *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu* being *Śvetavatālaya*, the abode of Indra, who was known as *Śvetavat*. Some scholars would like to connect the elephant of this type with Buddhism.[11] But it was left to Whitehead to rediscover the real nature of the deity: in two of his recent papers he has emphasized that the deity is a city-goddess,[12] and thus it seems that Masson's description was

[1] Tarn, pp. 138, 212.
[2] *Taxila*, i. 30, ii. 768.
[3] But it is interesting to note that the Zeus-Mithra on some coins of Amyntas (e.g. *NC*, 1947, Pl. II. 1) holds a palm; this is, however, a special type for another reason also, since the god holds on his outstretched right hand Pallas and not Nike or Hecate; and the sceptre of Zeus is *not* absent.
[4] It might be a *caitya* or a temple. On a coin examined by us it looks like [symbol].
[5] *CHI*, pp. 555–56.
[6] Tarn, p. 437; Marshall, op. cit. i. 30, ii. 768.
[7] von Sallet, pp. 101–2.
[8] *JASB*, 1834, p. 164, Pl. VIII. 11.
[9] *IHQ*, 1938, pp. 295–300, 749; also his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 162 ff.
[10] *JA*, 1915, p. 38.
[11] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, pp. 63–64; cf. also Foucher, 'Iconography of Buddha's Nativity', *MASI*, No. 46, pp. 12–13.
[12] *NC*, 1947, pp. 28–32; *NC*, 1950, pp. 205–6.

correct. We have examined the five specimens in the British Museum and a few more in private collections, and we are convinced that the divinity wears 'a mural crown and carries a palm but not a sceptre';[1] it may rather be compared with the city-fortune on a copper coin of Hippostratus,[2] on the silver of Maues,[3] and on a copper coin of Azilises;[4] on some specimens the figure seems certainly female. Further, two other points observed by Whitehead are also quite pertinent; the legend itself precisely calls it the 'city deity of Kāpiśī', and that deity cannot be Zeus on the coins of Maues and Azilises, since in each case he appears on the reverse side of the coin.[5] Like the 'elephant' of Taxila, the type 'Zeus enthroned of Alexandria-Kapiśa (Kāpiśī)' must be given up.[6] This does not mean, however, that the coins with Zeus as a type were not struck in the Kabul valley.

One coin of Eucratides of the 'Kaviṣiye Nagara' type has been found overstruck on a piece of Apollodotus;[7] no such second specimen has so far been reported.[8] This involves two problems, the significance of an overstrike and the existence of an Apollodotus earlier than Eucratides I. It was thought that 'overstrikes' are actually restrikes, and that they imply a conquest[9] and indicate real transfer of power from one king to the other. But it has been shown that this generalization is not correct, for coins of an early or contemporary king were occasionally used as blanks, perhaps owing to a shortage of metal.[10] So this overstrike does not necessarily imply that an Eucratides took the Kabul valley from an Apollodotus. But we must discuss whether there was an Apollodotus, known as Apollodotus I, before Eucratides I.[11]

No one seems to doubt the existence of two Apollodoti; the coins which bear a portrait are obviously of a later Apollodotus,[12] and the rest have been divided, more or less arbitrarily, between

[1] See Pl. IV. 8.
[2] *NC*, 1950, Pl. XII. 4.
[3] Ibid., Pl. XII. 2.
[4] Ibid. 3.
[5] Ibid., p. 205. There are, however, some exceptions.
[6] Tarn, pp. 437 ff.; Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, loc. cit.
[7] Cunningham, *CASE*, Pl. VI. 5, which is now in the BM. Cf. also Pl. IV. 9.
[8] It is unfortunate that students have been misled by such statements as '. . . *certain copper coins* of Apollodotus I . . . have been restruck by Eucratides' (*CHI*, p. 555); cf. also, *BMC*, p. xxxviii.
[9] Rapson, *CHI*, loc. cit.; Tarn, pp. 212 ff.
[10] C. H. V. Sutherland has discussed Greek overstrikes in general, *NC*, 1942, pp. 1 f.; Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65; Whitehead, *NC*, 1947, p. 32, 1950, p. 210.
[11] Part of this discussion is continued in Ch. V, pp. 122 ff.
[12] *PMC*, Pl. IV. 263; *BMC*, Pl. X. 1.

the two.[1] It is supposed that the style and the geographical distribution of the coins bearing the name of Apollodotus indicate this division, and that the two kings are distinguished by their titles. It has been argued that Apollodotus I was a king who existed earlier than Eucratides I and that he was the prominent figure mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*[2] and Trogus' *Prologue*.[3] And now he is one of the three Indo-Greek kings very often discussed in connexion with the Greek conquests in India.

If there was an early and important king Apollodotus I, not only would he have placed his portrait on his coins but also he would have struck tetradrachms; their absence has not been duly noted, which, considering the period to which he is generally thought to belong, is rather surprising.[4] Even the silver drachms,[5] of which more square than round specimens have been found and which conform to a reduced weight standard,[6] do not in our opinion belong to the hypothetical Apollodotus I. The type of these coins, elephant and bull together, occurs elsewhere only on a square copper of Heliocles II,[7] to reappear later on the money of Maues, Azes, and Azilises;[8] taken separately the elephant appears to be more common on the Indo-Greek coins and the bull on the Śaka-Pahlava. The square copper of Heliocles II and the square silver of Apollodotus II may have provided a coin-type which was adopted by the succeeding Śaka and Pahlava kings. They bear monograms on both obverse and reverse, sometimes two on each side.[9] Double monograms become comparatively common only with later Indo-Greek kings.[10] The monograms are mostly unfamiliar to the period to which the hypothetical Apollodotus I is

[1] The only actual attempt at dividing the copper money was made by Gardner in *BMC*, pp. 34, 37, and that has been generally followed, but cf. *infra*, pp. 124–6.
[2] § 47.
[3] xli.
[4] Especially now, in view of the fact that tetradrachms of nearly all the kings are known, and the more so when we learn that even Attic tetradrachms of Menander and several rulers after Heliocles I are also known.
[5] *PMC*, Pl. IV. 231, 236.
[6] Cf. also Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, p. 302. Apollodotus struck a few round pieces in silver weighing about 31 grains, which are in a class by themselves. The square bull and elephant coins are referred to as of hybrid drachm weight; cf. also Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 861.
[7] Cf. also Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 6 where he noted this fact. For the coins of Heliocles cf. *PMC*, Pl. III, 149.
[8] *PMC*, Pl. X. 32 (Maues); *PMC*, Pl. XII. 288 (Azes); *PMC*, Pl. XIV. 363 (Azilises).
[9] Cf. *BMC*, s.v. Apollodotus I and II.
[10] Philoxenus, Hermaeus, &c.

thought to belong; one of them, C, is a round sigma, which, associated with ω, a round omega, may indicate a late date. Some of the common monograms of the so-called Apollodotus I appear quite frequently on the money of Hermaeus[1] and even of Azes.[2] Some have no monograms at all.[3] The only other Indo-Greek king who struck square silver drachms was Philoxenus;[4] the style and fabric of these silver drachms of Apollodotus are similar to those of the silver drachms of Philoxenus, on the one hand, and of Antialcidas and Antimachus II, on the other.[5] There is, therefore, reason to believe that these coins also belong to the Apollodotus hitherto known as Apollodotus II, who struck silver tetradrachms on the Indian standard; he may not have been far removed in time from Philoxenus, Antialcidas, and Hippostratus.

The literary evidence also is clear enough to justify this conclusion; unfortunately scholars have confused the two names and the mistakes of one authority have been faithfully copied by the next. Justin in his Trogus' *Prologues* was found to write,[6] 'Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodorum et Menandrum, reges eorum'. But 'the learned and judicious' Bayer emended *Apollodotum* in place of *Apollodorum*,[7] following Iohannes Valens, who thought 'that it is a most erroneous passage, for Apollodorus was not a king of the Bactrians, but an historian'.[8] The main reason to justify this emendation was the mention of Apollodotus with Menander in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.[9] Looking into many of the old editions of Justin we find that various readings were known. One text reads *Apostolodorum*, whereas some editors have either '. . . ex Apollodoro, gestae per Menandrum & Demetrium reges eorum', or '. . . ex Apollodoro gestae per Menandrum & Eucratidem reges eorum'.[10] The passage in Strabo which mentions the exploits of Menander and Demetrius in India also says,

[1] e.g. (cf. *BMC*, p. 36, Nos. 32–37 and p. 63, Nos. 13–14); (cf. *BMC*, p. 36, No. 38 and p. 62, Nos. 5–6).

[2] e.g. (cf. *BMC*, p. 34, No. 9; p. 35, No. 16; p. 86, Nos. 145, 153; and p. 87, No. 164); (cf. *BMC*, p. 35, Nos. 17–19; p. 86, No. 154; and p. 87, Nos. 166, 168, &c.).

[3] *BMC*, Pl. IX. 8.

[4] Cf. *BMC* and *PMC* s.v. Philoxenus.

[5] Cf. also Allan Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 861. Allan considers the drachms of Apollodotus to be of the same quality and weight as those struck by Menander, Antialcidas, and Antimachus II.

[6] xli.

[7] *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, pp. 77–80.

[8] Ibid, p. 78; cf. also Tod, *Transactions of RAS* i. 223 ff.

[9] § 47.

[10] Abraham Gronovius' edition, p. 1013, which collects some of these readings. See Bibliography for this and other editions used.

ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀρτεμιτηνός.[1] We do not know for certain what was the source of Trogus' information,[2] but undoubtedly Apollodorus, the author of *Parthica*, was earlier than both Strabo and Trogus,[3] and even if he was not the main source he may well have been one of the primary sources utilized by Trogus; and this particular information about the exploits of Greek kings in India may well have been due to him, for there is no other earlier source which is definitely known.[4] It is likely that both Strabo and Trogus used Apollodorus also, and Trogus referred to Apollodorus, just as Strabo did. It is reasonable, therefore, to take the passage concerned as referring to the historian rather than to a king to whom, as we have seen, no title to greatness can be given. There can be no controversy about the passage in Strabo, and that is all the more reason why we should prefer the reading *Apollodorum*; it is interesting to note that Apollodotus is not mentioned in Strabo. Justin does not mention Apollodotus, whereas he does mention Demetrius, Menander, and Eucratides; if the name of Apollodotus had actually existed in Trogus it is unlikely that Justin would have missed it.[5] Obviously there is something wrong in the sentence as handed down to us. Those early editors who recognized that the reference is to the historian Apollodorus were puzzled by *et*, and therefore inserted either the name of Demetrius or that of Eucratides, who were the two other Indo-Greek kings besides Menander known to the classical authors. But Schlegel considered this as disfiguring an ancient text.[6] We therefore suggest the following reading: 'Indicae quoque res gestae additae ex Apollodoro per Menandrum, regem eorum.' This emendation only requires *et* and *per* to change their places, in which case *et* is clearly a mistake for *ex*. And then *reges* will naturally become *regem*.

Moreover, as we shall see below, the mention of the name of Apollodotus in the *Periplus*,[7] upon which Bayer based his emendation, is not sufficient evidence to postulate an early king, Apollodotus I, ruling far and wide in India; probably it refers to the later

[1] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.

[2] Cf. Tarn's discussion, pp. 45 f.; Altheim, i, Pt. I, ch. i; Tarn's note in his Addenda, p. 522; also *JHS*, 1953, p. 170.

[3] Trogus died A.D. 14 (?), Strabo died A.D. 24 (?); and the date of Apollodorus, according to Tarn, must fall between *c.* 130 and 87 B.C.

[4] Tarn (pp. 45–53) tells us about the unknown sources of Trogus and Plutarch.

[5] Justin, *Prol. Pomp. Trog.* xli.

[6] *JASB*, 1833, p. 407.

[7] *Periplus*, § 47 (Schoff's translation, p. 41).

Apollodotus who is generally known as Apollodotus II. To quote the passage at length:

> The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Aratti, the Arachosii, the Gandarii and the people of Poclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. *Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king.* And Alexander setting out from these parts, penetrated *to the Ganges*, leaving aside Damirica and the southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, *coming from this country; bearing inscriptions in Greek letters*, and the *devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.*

Much has been made of this passage without justification. It merely states that some coins which bore *Greek inscriptions and the devices of* Apollodotus and Menander circulated in Barygaza, which was known to be a trading centre. The passage clearly implies that these coins came from some outside area, probably from where the 'warlike nation of the Bactrians' ruled. Or it may be that the author of the *Periplus* had seen the coins of a certain Apollodotus and Menander and noticed similar coins in Barygaza not necessarily of their own minting. The name of Apollodotus mentioned in the *Periplus* evidently refers to the later king of that name whose coins are more numerous and widely spread than those of the hypothetical Apollodotus I, and who, like Menander, was more closely in touch with India proper. Apart from this the silver coins of the later Śaka satraps of Mahārāṣṭra and Ujjain are held to be inspired by the drachms of Apollodotus,[1] that is of Apollodotus II,[2] who alone of the two put his portrait on his coins. The coins of these Śaka satraps also bear traces of Greek legends.[3] The author of the *Periplus*, who was a trader, may have noticed the similarity and mentioned the coins as a curiosity. This explains the mystery in the statement of Whitehead—'in fact I have not heard of the discovery of a single Greek coin at Broach';[4] moreover, Dr. G. P. Taylor, who collected coins in Ahmedabad for thirty years, never found any money of Apollodotus.[5] Even if some

[1] Rapson, *BMC Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, &c.*, pp. cviii, cxciv; *Indian Coins*, p. 21.
[2] Ibid.: 'more particularly, perhaps from those of Apollodotus Philopator'. Cf. also Tarn, p. 318.
[3] Cf. *BMC Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, &c.*, pp. cxci–cxcii.
[4] *NC*, 1940, p. 101.
[5] *NC*, 1950, p. 207.

coins of Menander and Apollodotus were actually found there by the author of *Periplus*, this gives no proof that they ruled there, since the coins are said to have been brought to Barygaza, almost certainly by way of trade.

Thus there is hardly any evidence for the existence of an early Apollodotus I as a king of the Indo-Greeks. The testimony of the overstruck piece does not solve the problem, as we shall show in Chapter V, where we also discuss the difficulty of distinguishing two Apollodoti on copper coins.[1] The overstrike does not necessarily indicate that there was an Apollodotus I earlier than Eucratides I, and it is not certain that the overstriker Eucratides was the famous Eucratides I.[2]

To return to Eucratides. After his occupation of the Paropamisadae he had now two possible lines of advance, to the south via Ghazni to Kandahar and Seistan, and to Gandhāra in the east. Probably he made progress as far as possible in both directions. His coins have been discovered in Arachosia and Seistan,[3] and in the treasure found at Mir Zakah near Ghazni.[4] Since Eucratides seems to have been by no means the last ruler in Arachosia and Seistan before it was occupied by the Parthians, it is likely that he possessed a considerable part of these regions.

But it is unlikely that his success in Gandhāra was extensive; at least he did not cross the Indus.[5] His money is reported to be rare in Gandhāra.[6] Only four of his copper coins have been found in Taxila, and none of them in the so-called Greek stratum.[7] One of these copper coins has the 'pilei' on reverse, which, it has been suggested, became the local type of the Taxila mint under the Indo-Greeks, because Liaka Kusulaka used it and is assumed to have copied it from his predecessors there.[8] But Allan has shown that 'the original of Liaka Kusulaka's coinage belongs not to Taxila but to Arachosia, Gedrosia, and Paropamisadae'.[9] The type

[1] *Infra*, pp. 124–6. [2] *Infra*, pp. 123–4.
[3] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 177. The coins in the collections of Stacy and Hutton were obtained in Kandahar and Seistan.
[4] Schlumberger, p. 75.
[5] Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 31: 'whether he ever crossed the Indus and possessed himself of Taxila is not altogether clear'.
[6] Haughton in his list, *NC*, 1943, p. 56, does not name any place in Gandhāra. Also, Cunningham, op. cit., p. 177; Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 858.
[7] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766.
[8] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 556; Marshall, op. cit. i. 31.
[9] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 858.

is not a very common one, and of the coins found at Taxila only those of Archebius and Antialcidas have it; the excavations certainly do not reveal that preponderance of the 'pilei' type which we should have expected a local mintage to show.[1] It is, however, not unlikely that Eucratides I occupied some parts of the western Gandhāra. But certainly the statement of Marshall that, 'he was the first of the Indo-Greeks also to use the type "Nike with wreath and palm", which was to become characteristic of Gandhāra and to be copied there by Menander, Epander, Antimachus II, Strato I, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, Archebius, Maues and Azes I, &c.',[2] is not correct; Antimachus I Theos had struck a coin with Nike holding a wreath and palm.[3]

Eucratides, who had long been away from Bactria, was returning home about 155 B.C.[4] when he was killed by an ungrateful son whom he had made a joint-king.[5] Tarn's view that Eucratides was killed by 'a son' of Demetrius I is very misleading;[6] it has rightly been rejected by others.[7] The statement of Justin is quite clear and unambiguous; the contrast of *filius* and *pater* conclusively shows that the murderer was the son of Eucratides, whom his father had made *socius regni*; Eucratides did not fall in battle with the Parthians.[8] Tarn misrepresents Justin's text as describing the murder as having taken place in battle, though the words are *in itinere*; there is no reason to doubt that the son used a chariot on the road as well as in battle![9] The killer of Eucratides must have been his own son, who was also his joint-king; Tarn notes that 'Justin does *not* say *a filio ejus*'[10]—but this appears to be a quibble, for why should Eucratides make any other person's son his *socius regni*? Who, then, was the parricide?

Eucratides had two sons. Mionnet's view of the relationship of Heliocles to Eucratides was adopted by Wilson[11] and Lassen,[12] and

[1] The stratigraphical and group chart of Greek coins found in Sirkap (*Taxila*, ii. 766–7) shows Eucratides 1, Archebius 3, and Antialcidas 14.
[2] Marshall, op. cit. i. 30–31.
[3] *PMC*, Pl. II. 59; *CASE*, Pl. I. 7.
[4] i.e. he may have ruled for fifteen or sixteen years, if he came to power at about the same time as Mithridates I in 171 B.C. Cf. *supra*, p. 53.
[5] Justin, xli. 6.
[6] Tarn, pp. 219–22.
[7] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 63; Altheim, pp. 57–58; Jenkins, *NC*, 1951, pp. 15 ff.
[8] Ibid., p. 16.
[9] Burn, op. cit., p. 63.
[10] Tarn, p. 220, fn. 1.
[11] *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 263–4. Quotes Mionnet's *Supplément*, viii. 469.
[12] *JASB*, 1840, p. 674.

the discovery of the 'Heliocles-Laodice' piece of Eucratides confirmed it. That there were two Eucratides was first suggested by Bayer[1] and was supported by Rochette. Cunningham was against this view[2] but Macdonald favoured it.[3] Trever, who first published a coin of Eucratides with the Soter title, concluded that there was only one Eucratides.[4] Whitehead, who republished the coin, did not commit himself, but only made Trever's view known;[5] now more and more coins of this type are coming to light,[6] and he is inclined to admit two Eucratides. Tarn also considered the possibility of a second Eucratides, a son or brother of Heliocles I, appointed to govern regions north of the Hindu Kush.[7] We prefer to take him as a son of Heliocles I rather than of Eucratides I; Kozolubski believes that the coins of Eucratides II are more closely related to those of Heliocles I than to those of Eucratides I.[8]

Plato was probably another son of Eucratides I. Not only are more specimens of the 'Helios on quadriga' type of his coins now known, but three altogether new varieties have recently been discovered;[9] one with a bareheaded bust on the obverse with the usual well-known reverse type; another with 'bareheaded bust and Helios on a quadriga facing'; and yet another with 'bareheaded bust and Helios or Mithra standing to front'. The discovery of more coins of Plato has disproved one hitherto unquestioned idea that his coins bear the date 147 of the Seleucid era (= 165 B.C.);[10] the two Greek letters MH are probably an engraver's initials or a magistrate's name; there is no third letter.[11] But even without this evidence Plato must belong to this period on grounds of the type and style of his coins; he did not strike any bilingual coins. The head closely resembles the helmeted head of Eucratides I,[12] and the facial features of the bareheaded bust on one of his new coins are

[1] *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, xxxix. 95.
[2] *CASE*, pp. 161 ff.
[3] *CHI*, p. 460.
[4] Trever, p. 123, Pl. 36. 3–4.
[5] *NC*, 1947, pp. 15–16.
[6] In the Qunduz hoard there are thirty-seven coins of Eucratides II with the title Soter; cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3, p. 2.
[7] Tarn, pp. 271–2.
[8] *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 1953, p. 188. See also Pl. II, Nos. 2 and 5.
[9] Cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, p. 12.
[10] *BMC*, p. xxvi.
[11] Cf. illustration in Pl. II. 3. Mr. G. K. Jenkins agrees with us.
[12] Cf. *BMC* and *PMC* s.v. Eucratides I and Plato.

very strikingly similar to the typical face of Heliocles I.[1] His title Epiphanes was also that of Antiochus IV, a contemporary Seleucid king. Probably Plato was the eldest son of Eucratides I, whom the latter made his joint-king before he moved for further conquests towards Kabul and the adjoining regions. Plato thus seems to have been the parricide mentioned by Justin, rather than Heliocles I, who took the epithet of 'Dikaios'.[2] On the other hand, the title 'Epiphanes', adopted by Plato, obviously shows him to have been ambitious, and he may well have been too impatient to wait for his father to die a natural death. It is faintly possible that Justin's statement that 'he drove his chariot through his blood' is connected with the types 'Helios on chariot' drawn by horses on his coins; it is noteworthy that 'Helios on quadriga' was not used by any succeeding king, perhaps because it carried the opprobrium of the parricide; Plato, we suggest, became so unpopular that he was soon slain by Heliocles I, who deservedly adopted the title 'Dikaios'. The rarity of Plato's coinage may be explained by the shortness of his abruptly ended reign. Justin's further statement about Parthia's interest in two satrapies of Bactria, which she successfully annexed, taken in connexion with his statement that the son who killed his father did so 'as if he had killed an enemy', leads us to believe that Parthia was the instigator of Plato's ambition. Foolishly Plato played into the hands of Parthia, with the result that Bactria lost the satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiana;[3] Mithridates I must have occupied these areas before he advanced to conquer Media.[4] We agree with Jenkins that Mithridates I did not conquer Media first, because it would leave no room for a period of rule by the Seleucid Demetrius I in that region;[5] and, moreover, it is against the order of events most naturally implied by Justin. The view of Altheim, who dissociates the Parthian conquest of Bactria from the death of Eucratides I, and who places it at the end of Mithridates' reign, *c.* 140–138 B.C.,[6] is also to be contested, because Justin says that the Bactrians were brought low before the full establishment of the Parthian empire, and the dated tetradrachms of Mithridates I which Altheim attributes to a Bactrian mint, as confirming his

[1] Cf. illustrations of the respective coins in Pl. II, Nos. 2 and 3.

[2] The adoption of this epithet is one of the reasons why some scholars have hesitated to consider Heliocles as the parricide.

[3] Strabo, xi. 11. 2; cf. Tarn, *Seleucid Parthian Studies*, pp. 20–24.

[4] Jenkins, *NC*, 1951, p. 15.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Altheim, ii. 59 ff.

theory, must in fact have been minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris,[1] as Newell first pointed out.[2] Probably 'the Parthian-Bactrian war started early in the decade 160–150'.[3] We believe that the usual view that Eucratides I died in *c.* 155 is correct.[4]

[1] Jenkins, *NC*, 1951, pp. 16 ff.

[2] Newell, *NC*, 1924, p. 147.

[3] Jenkins, op. cit., p. 17.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 70; Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 455; de la Vallée Poussin, p. 234.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLIMAX OF INDO-GREEK POWER

THE death of Eucratides was most unexpected, and there is no clue as to the situation at the time in the regions south and east of the Hindu Kush. Plato, the supposed parricide, has left no evidence of his rule in the Paropamisadae. Heliocles I, the loyal son of Eucratides, does not seem to have ruled there, since the bilingual coins actually belong to a later king of the same name, most probably a grandson of Eucratides I,[1] who overstruck coins of Strato and the joint-issues of Strato and Agathocleia.[2] It is likely that it was the unsettled conditions of the time that produced a man of remarkable ability, who was destined to become the most famous of the Yavana kings in India; he was Menander, the Milinda of Indian tradition.

We are told in the *Milindapañha* that Menander was born in a village called Kalasi not far from Alasandā and 200 *yojanas* from Sāgala.[3] This Alasandā must be identified with Alexandria of the Caucasus;[4] Tarn has rightly rejected[5] the view put forward by French scholars that it refers to Alexandria in Egypt.[6] That Menander was not a Euthydemid[7] no one would doubt, but that he was a commoner by birth because he was born in a village[8] may be questioned.[9] To a question of Nāgasena, 'But did those Kṣatriyas of old exist, who were the founders of the line of kings from which you come?' Menander is said to have replied, 'Certainly, Sir, how can there be any doubt about that?'[10] It is not unknown

[1] Cf. *infra*, pp. 104–6.
[2] Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 553, Pl. VI. 16, VII. 25; cf. also, *infra*, p. 105.
[3] *The Questions of King Milinda*, Pt. I, p. 127.
[4] Tarn, pp. 141, 420.
[5] Ibid., p. 421.
[6] The Chinese version of the *Milindapañha*, written several centuries later, describes Alasandā as 2,000 yojanas from Sāgala instead of 200 (Demiéville, 'Les Versions chinoises du Milindapañha', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxiv. 168 (cviii); cf. Pelliot, *JA*, 1914, Pt. II, pp. 413–19; Lévi, *IHQ*, 1936, p. 126).
[7] Tarn, pp. 141, 421.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 66.
[10] *Atthi pana te mahārājā pubbakā khattiyā ye te tava khattiyavaṁsassa pubbaṅgamā ti. Āma bhante, ko saṁsayo, atthi pubbakā khattiyā ye mama khattiyavaṁsassa pubbaṅgamā ti* (*Milindapañha*, p. 329).

for a commoner who achieves kingship to acquire royal ancestry with it, but, though there is no certainty, it may be suggested that Menander had some connexions with Demetrius II and his family. With the discovery of more coins of Demetrius II it seems fairly certain that Pallas was the prevailing type of his coins,[1] and Pallas was also the commonest type of Menander's money. This connexion may have strengthened his cause in establishing his power after the death of Eucratides. He may also have supported his claim by marrying Agathocleia, a royal princess of another family; she is believed to have been his queen[2] though there is no conclusive proof.[3] She may have belonged to the family of Pantaleon and Agathocles,[4] or, as Tarn suggested, have been a daughter of Demetrius I.[5]

Rapson thought that Menander was a contemporary of both Demetrius and Eucratides;[6] this was the basis on which Tarn made his brilliant reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks at the height of their power. He regarded Menander as a general of Demetrius I, whose victories were achieved at the behest of his master[7] and who took royal titles only when Demetrius was dead.[8] Rapson's argument that Demetrius I and Menander were contemporaries because they are mentioned together by Apollodorus, as quoted by Strabo, is hardly convincing.[9] For the order in which they are mentioned in Apollodorus might equally well be taken to indicate that Menander was an earlier king than Demetrius,[10] which is, of course, impossible. We have discussed earlier in detail the confusion in the short and scrappy notices in the Western

[1] Fifty coins found in the Qunduz hoard are all of Pallas type.
[2] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 552. 'Her relation to Menander cannot be proved very definitely; but it is by no means improbable that she was his queen and the governor of his kingdom after his death.'
[3] *NC*, 1940, p. 97.
[4] Rapson, loc. cit.
[5] Tarn, pp. 78, 225. He takes Rapson, *CHI*, p. 552, fn. 1 as conclusive, but Rapson only tries to show that she may have been the queen of Menander and not that she was a daughter of Demetrius I. Tarn also considers the possibility of Agathocleia being a daughter of Apollodotus I (p. 78).
[6] *CHI*, pp. 543, 551.
[7] Tarn, pp. 166–7.
[8] Ibid., p. 225.
[9] Cf. also Chanda, *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 393 ff., 587 ff.
[10] Sircar, *AIU*, p. 106: 'The mention of Demetrius after Menander, who actually flourished later than Demetrius and had nothing to do with Bactria, seems to go against chronological sequence and partially mars the historical value of the statement.'

classical sources.[1] We have established also that Demetrius II was a fully fledged king who struck bilingual coins and therefore ruled in the Paropamisadae;[2] there is thus no chronological link between Demetrius I and Menander. Moreover, if we believe in the theory of Tarn,[3] Menander must have been a man of mature age when he became king.[4] But the earliest coins of Menander show him as a very young man,[5] and, as Marshall says, 'with an almost girlish countenance'.[6] Whitehead has rightly remarked that 'so early a date for Menander runs counter to the prevailing idea based specially on the coins'.[7] To consider Menander a contemporary of Eucratides in the sense that they ruled at the same time,[8] is also not free from difficulties. The coins of both these kings have been found in considerable number in the Kabul region and both of them were undoubtedly great kings; it is not likely, therefore, that both ruled the Kabul region at the same time. In fact, when Rapson says that their coins may reasonably be assigned to the same region he also qualifies his statement by his remark, '. . . a region which must have passed from one rule to the other'.[9] The fact that, according to Rapson,[10] some of their copper coins are stylistically connected indicates in our opinion that Menander succeeded Eucratides in a particular region. And it is clear from the preceding chapters that there is actually no possibility of Menander being a contemporary of Eucratides. That Menander started his royal career almost immediately after the death of Eucratides I need not be doubted. There is no reason to put him later,[11] and the arguments

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37. [2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 50–51.

[3] 'He must have proved himself as a general before Demetrius invaded India' (Tarn, p. 226; also p. 141).

[4] Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 213; Marshall, op. cit. i. 30.

[5] Tarn points out that the portraits on Menander's silver 'Dikaios' coins show an elderly man (p. 226). This only proves that when he took this title he was old, but this cannot mean that they were issued earlier than those on which he is youthful. Cf. also Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 213; Marshall, loc. cit. Early writers also noted this point, e.g. Masson (*JASB*, 1834, p. 172) who speaks of Menander as 'the youthful, the beautiful and beloved Menander'. Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 281) calls him juvenile. [6] Marshall, loc. cit.

[7] *NC*, 1940, p. 95. [8] *CHI*, p. 551. [9] Ibid. [10] Ibid.

[11] Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 104, gives the date 125–95 B.C.; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 385, says that Menander could not have ruled earlier than Heliocles, and again, on p. 387: 'There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrius to Strato II'. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 113, considers 115–90 B.C. as the period of Menander's reign, but he also says in the same paragraph that 'he may have, at best, been a later contemporary of Puṣyamitra'.

in favour of this view are invalid once it is recognized that there was a second Heliocles who overstruck the coins of Strato and Agathocleia.[1] Sircar's reliance on the *Milindapañha* tradition that Menander flourished 500 years after the death of the Buddha is most unconvincing.[2] We have shown that Eucratides I's career ended in *c.* 155 B.C., and in our opinion this would be the date of Menander's accession. Incidentally, this would conform to the chronology of the Indo-Greek invasion of the Madhyadeśa mentioned in the Indian literary sources.[3]

Tarn's view that there is no real evidence that Menander ruled in the Paropamisadae[4] was based on his theory that Menander belonged to the camp of Euthydemus, and that, as the result of a treaty between them, Eucratides I was left the Paropamisadae and Menander was content to retain Gandhāra.[5] It is hard to follow Tarn's reasoning that 'the mere presence of used coins' of Menander in the Paropamisadae is 'little guide'; 'had he ruled wherever his coins have been found he would have been king in Pembrokeshire, and his coins from Begram cannot compare with the vast number of those of Eucratides collected in that district'.[6] Actually there is no evidence for the 'vast number' of Eucratides' coins in Begram;[7] and surely the number of Menander's coins, 153, found by Masson in Begram does not compare badly with the 269 coins of Eucratides I found in the same place.[8] The difference is not significant, for we should also note that the number of Apollodotus' coins was only 73.[9] Shall we say, therefore, on the basis of this comparatively small total, that Apollodotus, whose coin was overstruck by a certain Eucratides in the Paropamisadae, did not rule there? The reference made to the coin found in Pembrokeshire[10] is irrelevant, because numismatists argue generally only from regular occurrences. Moreover, Tarn tends to be inconsistent when, despite his statement quoted above, he accepts the rule of Menander over Mathurā,[11] where, after the discovery of Tod's

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 105.

[2] *AIU*, pp. 113–14, 114, fn. 1. For this purpose he would put the date of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha about the middle of the seventh century B.C. But the general view now is about 486 B.C. (cf. *AIU*, p. 36, *CHI*, p. 171.) The round number 500 is very popular in Buddhist literature and it cannot be taken seriously.

[3] Cf. *infra*, pp. 82 ff. [4] Tarn, pp. 217, 228.

[5] Ibid., p. 228. [6] Tarn, pp. 228–29.

[7] Cf. *supra*, p. 62. [8] *JASB*, 1836, p. 547. [9] Ibid.

[10] *IA* xxxiv. 252. [11] Tarn, pp. 251–2.

coins,[1] no other specimen has been found, and over Barygaza, where no coins have ever been noticed.[2] And the number of Menander's coins found in the Kabul region is not negligible. At Hazaurehjat also 108 coins of Menander were found, and stray coins have been noticed in Kabul;[3] Cunningham traced 70 to Kabul, Hutton got 9 silver coins at the same place; so also Stacy, who did not find a single coin of Menander at Kandahar, got them when he reached Kabul.[4] On the basis of his personal knowledge Cunningham concluded that Menander's kingdom included Kabul and eastern Afghanistan. The recent publication of the Mir Zakah Treasure[5] confirms the rule of Menander in Ghazni and adjoining areas of the Kabul valley in the north; the coins in that treasure, as listed by Schlumberger, are 18 of Eucratides and 521 of Menander. Menander, who was born in Alasandā,[6] is called a king of Bactria by Plutarch,[7] and Apollodorus regards him as a Bactrian Greek king;[8] it is hardly likely that the Western classical sources would have referred to Menander thus had he not ruled over at least the Paropamisadae in the west. And now the discovery of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander[9] sets speculation at rest; he must have reigned over the Kabul region and may also have made some encroachments north of the Hindu Kush.

With the Paropamisadae in his possession Menander may have advanced east and south to supplant the rule of Eucratides in Gandhāra, Arachosia, and Seistan. But there is hardly any evidence that he occupied the two latter regions; Captain Hutton, who resided for a long time in Seistan and Kandahar, did not find a single specimen of the coins of Menander there, and Colonel Stacy was equally unsuccessful.[10] Probably Seistan and the southern parts of Arachosia passed into the hands of the Parthians at the death of Eucratides. It is possible, however, that some parts of northern and eastern Arachosia, alined to the Indus river system, were included in the kingdom of Menander.[11]

[1] *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, i. 314–15. After many years' search Tod found a coin of Menander of the type 'helmeted bust and Victory'.
[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 68–69.
[3] *JASB*, 1836, p. 22.
[4] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 259.
[5] Schlumberger, pp. 67–69.
[6] *Milindapañha*, p. 82 (trans. as *The Questions of King Milinda*, Pt. I, p. 127).
[7] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D–E (Loeb edn. x. 276–9).
[8] *ap.* Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
[9] This unique coin has now been published. Cf. Bivar, *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1954; see also Pl. II. 7.
[10] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 259.
[11] Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 32.

Menander's occupation of Gandhāra, with its two great centres Puṣkalāvatī and Taxila, is amply proved by the numerous finds of his coins. In the excavations at Taxila 34 coins of Menander have been noticed as against only 4 of Eucratides and 15 of Antialcidas;[1] the only king whose coins are more numerous is Apollodotus (the so-called Apollodotus II).[2] In the Sheikhano Dheri hoard,[3] found near Charsadda, coins of Menander are again predominant. His coins have also been found in the small-scale excavation of Charsadda,[4] and it has been noted that all the gold staters of Menander yet known and the only (?) tetradrachm with an owl on the reverse have come from Charsadda.[5] Among the regular findspots of his coins Haughton has listed Utmanzai, Shabkadar, Rajjar, Mardan, Swabi, Taxila, Peshawar, and Rawalpindi,[6] all in the region of Gandhāra. Menander's conquest of Gandhāra was probably not difficult, since it had already been conquered by his predecessors;[7] his greatness lies in the fact that he extended the Indo-Greek kingdom beyond Gandhāra.

In the north he occupied Hazara and the Swat valley. Two hundred drachms of his in mint condition have been found in Swat,[8] and 721 further specimens, showing little signs of circulation, in the first Bajaur hoard;[9] the second Bajaur hoard[10] contained 92 coins of Menander out of 120 examined by Haughton. And now, with the discovery of the Bajaur casket inscription[11] of the reign of Menander, it is quite certain that the Swat valley was included within his kingdom and was under the governorship of Viyakamitra, who, as the name shows, must have been a prince of Indian origin.[12] The inscription consists of two groups of small epigraphs of different periods; the first mentions the name of *Mahārāja Minadra* and can be dated in the middle of the second century B.C.,[13] while the second refers to the reconsecration of the casket in

[1] Ibid. ii. 766 f.
[2] Cf. also *supra*, p. 77; *infra*, pp. 122 ff.
[3] *NC*, 1940, pp. 123–6.
[4] *ASR*, 1902–3, p. 158.
[5] Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 105; Haughton, *NC*, 1943, p. 51.
[6] Haughton, *NC*, 1943, pp. 57–58.
[7] *Supra*, Ch. III.
[8] *NC*, 1923, p. 313.
[9] Martin, *NS*, xl (1926–7), 18–21.
[10] Haughton, *JNSI*, 1942, p. 61; *NC*, 1947, pp. 141 f.
[11] N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.* xxiv. pp. 1–8; Sten Konow, *NIA*, 1939–40, pp. 639–48; *Ep. Ind.* xxvii. 52–58. Cf. also Pl. VI. 1.
[12] N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 6.
[13] Ibid., p. 2; Sten Konow, *NIA*, 1939–40, pp. 640 f.; also *Ep. Ind.* xxvii. 53.

the time of a certain Vijayamitra[1] who has been identified with the Vijayamitra named on certain Indo-Scythic coins,[2] and is dated some time in the first century B.C.[3] Unfortunately the portion of the lid of the casket which may have contained a date is broken.[4] Nevertheless, this small and fragmentary inscription is of great value.[5]

Menander evidently controlled Udyāna[6] and Abhisāra,[7] but whether he made incursions into the Kashmir valley is doubtful. The evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is neither explicit nor reliable for this period.[8] However, not far from these areas, at Dhamataur in the vicinity of Abbottabad, nine hemidrachms of Menander were found in a pot at the base of an old wall near which is situated a Buddhist *stūpa*.[9] But strangely there is no evidence, either numismatic or literary, for even the temporary rule of Menander in the valley of Kashmir.

Since he was in possession of Taxila the command of Menander may have been obeyed in the Sind-Sagar Doab, 'which had belonged to the old Taxilan kingdom and which extended right across the western Punjab as far as the Panjnad'.[10] But the claim that he made further conquests in the east beyond the Jhelum, where Bucephala, one of the Alexandrian townships, is supposed to have existed, and beyond the Chenab, in the old country of the Madras with their capital at Śākala,[11] has to be studied closely.

[1] Sten Konow, *NIA*, 1939–40, p. 642; *Ep. Ind.* xxvii. 55–57, thinks that Vijayamitra and Viyakamitra of the Bajaur inscription are the same person. But we believe that Majumdar's original view is correct, because the portions in which these names occur are palaeographically of different periods, and in such a small epigraph it is most unlikely that the same person should be referred to by two clearly different names. From the similarity of the names it is possible that the two were members of the same family.

[2] N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 6; Whitehead, *NC*, 1944, pp. 99–104.

[3] N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 2: 'probably a little more than 50 years after the first inscription'; Sten Konow, *NIA*, 1939–40, p. 641; 'middle of the first century B.C.'

[4] There is no mention of a regnal year of Menander as was thought by some scholars (cf. Tarn, p. 520, who later corrected himself in the Addenda).

[5] *Minaṁdra* as the name of a donor is noticed on a piece of sculpture of the Peshawar Museum, representing two wrestlers. But the style of the characters points to the later Kuṣāṇa period (Sten Konow, *CII*, p. 134).

[6] *IHQ*, 1953, p. 15. The country between the rivers Suvāstu and Gaurī was known as Uḍḍiyāna; it was considered in ancient days a part of Gandhāra.

[7] The district of Hazara and the adjoining regions. Cf. *PHAI*, p. 248. See *NC*, 1923, p. 342 for coin finds at Dudial in the Hazara district.

[8] Cf. *supra*, p. 9.

[9] H. L. Haughton, *NC*, 1943, p. 57.

[10] Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 32. Probably this area was known as *Sindhu Janapada*. Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *IHQ*, 1953, p. 15.

[11] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 551.

We have no means of verifying whether Bucephala still existed in the hostile Punjab at this time, but surely the mere existence of a Greek camp-town more than 150 years before Menander's time is no proof of his conquest of the Jhelum-Chenab Doab. The view of Rapson that the 'ox-head' and the figure of 'victory' on the coins of Menander may represent Bucephala and Nicaea,[1] the two cities which Alexander founded on the Jhelum in the realm of Porus, is hardly convincing. The figure of 'Victory' had been used before by Eucratides I and Antimachus I,[2] but has never been taken to prove that either of these kings ruled east of the Jhelum. Similarly, the evidence of Menander's possession of the Madra country sought in the *Milindapañha* is weak. Even if Sāgala proves to be Sialkot[3] it does not seem to have been Menander's capital, for the *Milindapañha* states that Milinda repaired to Sāgala to meet Nāgasena, just as the Ganges river goes down to the sea.[4] It is interesting to note in this connexion Ptolemy's phrase *Σάγαλα ἡ καὶ Εὐθυμέδια*.[5] Bayer's emendation of the name to Euthydemia[6] has been copied by most writers[7] to show that a city was founded in the name of Euthydemus by one of his successors in the Punjab, probably Demetrius. Tarn has very ably shown that this is impossible and that the correction is unwarrantable.[8] But whether or not Sāgala is the same as Euthydemia and is to be identified with Sialkot, we may suppose, on the basis of the circumstantial evidence we shall discuss below, that Menander ruled at least as far as the Ravi in the east; there is evidence that he made raids even beyond the Ravi and the Beas into the Jamuna valley, and led an army in league with others to Pāṭaliputra, but there is nothing to prove his conquest of these areas.

The relevant passages in the Western classical sources already quoted are unanimous on Menander's conquests in India. According to Strabo,[9] Apollodorus says that the conquests in India by the

[1] Ibid.

[2] *PMC*, pp. 19, 26–27.

[3] The location of Sāgala is further discussed in Appendix III.

[4] *Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyaṃ puruttame upagañcchi Nāgasenaṃ, Gaṅgā va yathā sāgaraṃ* (*Milindapañha*, p. 1).

[5] Ptolemy, vii. 1. 46.

[6] Bayer, *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, p. 84.

[7] Renou in his *La Géographie de Ptolémée: l'Inde* (Paris, 1925), p. 21, has also accepted this reading; Macdonald expressed his doubts in *CHI*, p. 446, and so also Demiéville, op. cit., p. 46, ff. n. 2; but Altheim, i. 324 has again accepted it.

[8] Tarn, pp. 247 ff. and Appendix 13, pp. 486 ff.

[9] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.

Bactrian Greeks were achieved mostly (μάλιστα) by Menander and he probably advanced beyond the Hypanis[1] (Beas) as far as the river Imaus or Isamos[2] (usually identified either with the Jamuna or the Son).[3]

Indian literary sources provide evidence almost to the same effect. Patañjali, who wrote his *Mahābhāṣya* not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C., has given two examples in illustration of the use of the imperfect tense to denote an event which has recently happened.[4] *Aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketaṃ* (the Yavana was besieging Sāketa), and *Aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikāṃ* (the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā). If these grammatical illustrations give any historical information and are not mere school illustrations give any historical information and are not mere school examples, they refer to sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā (near Chitor) by a Yavana king about the middle of the second century B.C. Similarly, Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act v)[5] preserves the memory of a conflict on the banks of the river Sindhu[6] in which a Yavana force was defeated by Puṣyamitra's grandson Vasumitra during the reign of the former, who died in *c.* 148 B.C.

But the real story of the Indo-Greek invasion becomes clear only on the analysis of the material contained in the historical section of the *Gārgi Saṁhitā*, the *Yuga Purāṇa*.[7] It tells us that the Pañcāla and Mathurā powers, together with the Yavanas who were known for their valour (*suvikrāntāḥ*), attacked Sāketa and marched

[1] Most of the historians of Alexander call the Beas, the Hyphasis, but one of them, Aristobulus, preferred Hypanis, the form used by Strabo (Tarn, p. 144).

[2] In the Loeb edition 'Imaus' is preferred, and so also in the Teubner, but Tarn (p. 144) takes 'Isamos'.

[3] Iomanes = Jamuna; Soamos = Son, cf. Tarn, p. 144. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 380, fn. 4, identifies Isamos with *Trisāmā*, and Sircar with *Ikṣumatī* (Prakrit: *Icchumai*), a river of the Pañcāla country 'often identified with the modern Kālīnadī running through Kumaon, Rohilkhand, and the Kanauj region', *AIU*, p. 114.

[4] *Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktundarśanaviṣaye* (Kielhorn's edition, ii. 118–19).

[5] *Sa Sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi carannaśvānīkena Yavanena prārthitaḥ. Tataḥ ubhayoḥ senayormahānāsītsaṃmardaḥ. . . . Tataḥ parānparājitya Vasumitreṇa dhanvinā, prasahya hriyamāṇo me vājirājo nivartitaḥ* (*Mālavikāgnimitra* (cf. Bibliography), pp. 227–8).

[6] Kāli Sindhu. Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, p. 179. Cf. also, Tarn, p. 228. But some scholars believe that the Sindhu mentioned in *Mālavikāgnimitra* is the Indus. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *IHQ*, 1925, pp. 91 ff., 214 ff.

[7] Cf. Appendix IV, pp. 174–9, where we give all the references, and, after a comparative study of the various readings of the different editions, revise the relevant passages.

on to possess Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra).[1] When they reached the mud fortifications of Pāṭaliputra the people became confounded and there was disorder.[2] The Pañcālas and the other kings who attacked Pāṭaliputra destroyed the city.[3] However, the invaders quarrelled among themselves, and, as a result of the fierce fighting between them, the Yavanas could not remain in the Madhyadeśa.[4]

These sources seem to refer to a single expedition, which, on the basis of Patañjali, probably occurred about the middle of the second century B.C.; and since at the time Puṣyamitra had a grandson old enough to lead a military expedition, the defeat of the Indo-Greeks on the Sindhu (Kāli Sindhu) must have taken place during the last years of the reign of Puṣyamitra (184–148 B.C.), and it is likely that the second horse-sacrifice was performed by him during the very end of his reign, when Vasumitra was old enough to take charge of the sacrificial horse. We shall show later that during this period the Pañcālas and Mathurā were probably independent powers, and coins indicate the presence of Mitra kings in these territories. Undoubtedly, therefore, this invasion took place about 150 B.C., and, as we have seen from our chronology, the Indo-Greek king in question can be none other than Menander. There is a story in Kṣemendra, for whatever it is worth, in which, quite incidentally, the Buddha prophesying to Indra says that a king Milinda would erect a *stūpa* at Pātaligrāma.[5] Our attention has been drawn to two examples illustrating the use of the imperfect in a late grammatical treatise.[6] The examples are *Aruṇanmahendro Mathurāṃ* and *Aruṇadyavanaḥ Sāketaṃ*. V. S. Agrawala suggests the reading *menandro* in place of *mahendro* and thus a reference to Menander and his invasion of the Madhyadeśa is sought. But if these examples illustrate the imperfect past and we follow the elucidation of this rule (*parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktundarśanavi-*

[1] *Tataḥ Sāketamākramya Pañcālā Māthurā(s)tathā,*
Yavanāśca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajaṃ.

[2] *Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite*
Ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṃśayaḥ.

The verses which follow describe in the conventional way the general disorder and confusion.

[3] *Pañcālā kṣāpayiṣyanti nagaraṃ ye ca pārthivāḥ.*

[4] *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyant i Yavanā yuddhadurmadāḥ*
Teṣāmanyonyasambhāvādbhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ
Ātmacakrotthitaṃ ghoraṃ yuddhaṃ paramadāruṇaṃ.

[5] Rhys Davids, *The Questions of Milinda*, pt. 2, p. xvii.

[6] *IHQ*, 1953, pp. 180–2 (the reference is to Abhayanandi's *Mahāvṛttī* on *Jainendra's Vyākaraṇa*, edited by E. J. Lazarus, Benares, 1918, p. 286).

ṣaye . . .), it would be more appropriate to find in Mahendra a king of the Hindu medieval period than to emend the text without any special reason; it seems these are school examples, one referring to some contemporary event and the other giving the traditional example borrowed from Patañjali.

Some scholars have suggested that there were two Yavana invasions, one soon after Śāliśuka (*c.* 200 B.C.) and the other towards the end of Puṣyamitra's reign (*c.* 148 B.C.), and that the two horse-sacrifices of the latter signify his double victory over the Greeks. Sircar suggests that the first campaign of Puṣyamitra was against Demetrius I and the second against Menander;[1] but he has contradicted himself by saying that Menander seems to have ruled from 115 to 90 B.C.,[2] which is certainly long after the death of Puṣyamitra.

The *Yuga Purāṇa*, on which this theory is mainly based, mentions a certain Śāliśuka as an irreligious and wicked king of Pāṭaliputra, and his pious elder brother Vijaya, probably a governor of Sāketa.[3] Since it is in the lines which follow this that the *Yuga Purāṇa* gives the description of the invasion of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra, presumably it was concluded by some scholars that the event took place soon after Śāliśuka's time, but, in order to avoid the obvious difficulties created by the evidence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, it was suggested that there were two Yavana invasions.[4]

But, in spite of the fact that the *Yuga Purāṇa* appears to be an early work based on still earlier Prākrit tradition,[5] and is valuable for its incidental notices, we believe that it is impossible at the present stage of our knowledge to reconstruct the sequence of political events of the Maurya and Post-Maurya periods on its basis alone. No scholar has seriously considered its evidence for what happened after the Yavana withdrawal from Pāṭaliputra, and it may yet throw light on the obscure history of Madhyadeśa during that period. But meanwhile it is really difficult to believe that the Purāṇa, which calls Udāyī (Udadhi) a son of Śiśunāga (*Śiśunāgātmaja*),[1] necessarily meant a Mauryan king by Śāliśuka. In the *Yuga Purāṇa* he is said to be the son of Ṛtukṣā Karma (?)[2] whereas in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* he succeeds Samprati.[3] His elder brother mentioned in the former text is not known from any other source, and the relevant passage is not at all clear and may be corrupt.[4] In one of the manuscripts of the *Yugapurāṇa*, which is, incidentally, the best preserved, two lines which refer to Śāliśuka are not found.[5] The historicity of Śāliśuka is not based on solid grounds, for the Purāṇic evidence is not unanimous about his place in the Mauryan genealogy.[6] It seems to us that the writer of the *Yuga Purāṇa* described the sequence of history with long leaps, making a selection of political events which he considered important. After Udāyī, the founder of Pāṭaliputra, he jumps to Śāliśuka, and after him he describes the military expedition in which the Pañcālas, the Māthuras, and the Yavanas took part. If mere sequence in the description can denote that one event happened immediately after the other then we must maintain that Śāliśuka came to the throne soon after Udāyī! The interval between the two latter events is more than 150 years, whereas the difference between Śāliśuka's reign and the date we suggest for the invasion, *c.* 150 B.C., is only fifty years. The evidence of the *Yuga Purāṇa* has thus nothing to suggest an earlier invasion soon after Śāliśuka. Strangely enough, it contains no mention of Puṣyamitra.

On the other hand, the text of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, as we have shown, gives an explicit clue to the period and nature of the inva-

[1] *AIU*, p. 113. [2] Ibid.

[3] *Yuga Purāṇa*, lines 89–93. Lines 92–93 are interpreted by Jayaswal (*JBORS* xiv. 110) and Dhruva (*JBORS* xvi. 24) to refer to the *Dharmavijaya* of Śāliśuka. On the other hand, Kern (*The Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, pp. 36–37), Barua (*Calcutta Review*, April 1945, pp. 24–25), and Mankad (*Yuga Purāṇa*, pp. 7 f.) take *Vijaya* as a proper name. There is definite mention of a brother of Śāliśuka (*sa jyeṣṭhabhrātaraṃ . . .*) and it has rightly been shown by the above writers that *Vijaya* as a personal name gives better sense to the passage than *vijaya* as 'conquest'.

[4] N. N. Ghosh, *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, 1946, pp. 45 ff.; Sircar, op. cit., pp. 113 ff.; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 353, 378–9.

[5] Kern, op. cit., pp. 39–40; Jayaswal, *JBORS* xiv. 398–9.

[1] It has been translated as 'descended from Śiśunāga' by Jayaswal, (*JBORS* xiv. 409); 'of the family of Śiśunāga' by Dhruva (op. cit., p. 24); and as 'the descendant of Śiśunāga' by Mankad (op. cit., p. 47). It is true that the *Yuga Purāṇa*, like the other Purāṇas, counts Udāyī in the family of Śiśunāga, but none of the Purāṇas calls Udāyī a son of Śiśunāga. And now it is generally accepted that Udāyī did not belong to the family of Śiśunāga but that he was earlier than the latter and belonged to the Haryaṅka dynasty. Cf. *PHAI*, pp. 216–17.

[2] Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 410, where he suggests Ṛbhukṣāvarma as the name of Śāliśuka's father.

[3] The *Vāyu Purāṇa* text (Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 29) puts him after Samprati but does not explicitly say that he was the son of Samprati, a suggestion that has been accepted by Rapson, *CHI*, p. 511.

[4] Cf. *Yuga Purāṇa*, lines 92–93.

[5] Mankad, *Yuga Purāṇa*, p. 32, fn. 89.

[6] Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 29, 70; *CHI*, p. 511.

sion of Pāṭaliputra in which the Indo-Greeks took part, for it says that the Pañcālas and the Māthuras were the other powers who attacked Sāketa and destroyed Pāṭaliputra. We must note that this literary information only confirms what was already known from the numismatic evidence. Coins of kings whose names end in *-mitra* are found in considerable numbers in Pañcāla and Mathurā as well as in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh;[1] a coin of Indramitra was found in the Kumrahar excavations;[2] and the names of Brahmamitra and Indramitra occur in the Bodh Gayā railing inscriptions.[3] Though attempts have been made to identify the Mitra kings of Pañcāla with the Śuṅgas,[4] Allan is right in strongly rejecting the identifications.[5] 'They cannot be identified with the Śuṅgas. The dynasty was in existence before the Śuṅgas, if we date the accession of Puṣyamitra about 184 B.C., and survived not only the Śuṅgas but also the Kaṇvas, probably disappearing with the latter before the Śakas.'[6] Similarly, about the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā, Allan says that they 'cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C.'.[7] These statements are further strengthened by the discovery of the extensive coinage of yet more kings of the Mitra dynasty of Pañcāla;[8] the names of twenty-one kings ending

[1] *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cviii–cxxi; *JNSI* ii. 115 f., 119 ff.; iii. 79 ff.; iv. 17 ff. The Pañcāla coins bear the names of kings generally ending in *-mitra*, and three symbols on the obv.; on the rev. there is a deity, or the symbol of a deity, on a kind of platform with railing in front and pillars or posts on either side. The name of the deity generally forms a component of the issuer's name. The Hindu coinage of Mathurā bears the name of kings ending generally either in *-mitra* or *-datta*. The general type is Lakṣmī on the obv. and elephant, horse, or tree-in-railing on the rev.

[2] *ASR*, 1912–13, pp. 79, 84–85. Besides that of Indramitra two other coins of the Mitra type were also found at the Pāṭaliputra site.

[3] *JRAS*, 1908, p. 1096; *ASR*, 1907–8, p. 40.

[4] Rivett-Carnac, *JASB*, 1880, pp. 21–23; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 476 ff. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 391 ff.; de la Vallée Poussin, pp. 175–6.

[5] Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cxx–cxxi. According to Cunningham the Mitra kings of Pañcāla formed one local dynasty (*Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 79–84).

[6] Allan, op. cit., p. cxxi; Altekar, *JNSI* xiii. 145.

[7] Ibid., p. cxvi.

[8] After the publication of *BMC Ancient India* the following kings have been added to the list of the Pañcāla Mitra dynasty: Vasusena, Vaṅgapāla, Dāmagupta, Prajāpatimitra, Yajñapāla, and Varuṇamitra. Two kings in the Carlleyle list (*JASB* xlix. 21 ff.) Ayumitra and Aṇumitra may also be added. Cf. the latest paper giving these names, *JNSI* xv. 42–45. Powell-Price thought that Gomitra, Driḍhamitra, and Sūryamitra, &c., of Mathurā also belonged to Pañcāla (*JUPHS* xvi. 223).

in *-mitra* (excluding those of the Kauśāmbī series) have so far been recovered from the coins. There is a remarkable uniformity of type of these coins and the kings who issued them almost certainly belong to one family; their history has yet to be reconstructed. They were certainly one of the most powerful successors of the Mauryas in the Madhyadeśa. Similarly, in Mathurā no less than fifteen kings have to be accommodated after the Mauryas before the first Śaka ruled there in *c.* 50 B.C.[1] Surely the evidence of the *Yuga Purāṇa* shows that at one time the Pañcālas and the Māthuras made a bid to occupy Pāṭaliputra and in their attempt they took the help of the Indo-Greeks. This must have occurred about 150 B.C., for by this time Menander, the Indo-Greek king who is known to the Western classical sources to have advanced farthest in the east, had already gained power. Puṣyamitra had grown old, and his reign was near its end. It is probable that, though he was able to control the two key-centres of Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā in an effective manner, he was not so successful in other regions. There was trouble in Vidarbha, as is attested by the tradition preserved by Kālidāsa, and there may also have been troubles elsewhere. Towards the end of Puṣyamitra's reign it seems that the pent-up forces of disintegration were triumphant, and several regional powers emerged in the Madhyadeśa, among which were the Pañcālas and the Māthuras. The reliance usually placed on the story of the *Divyāvadāna*[2] to show that Puṣyamitra ruled as far west as Śākala (? Sialkot) is not justified on careful study of the whole context; to us it seems evident either that there is some mistake in the name or that the Śākala of the *Divyāvadāna* must be a place not far from Pāṭaliputra.[3]

[1] Cf. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cviii–cxi.

[2] *Divyāvadāna* (edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886), pp. 433–4.

[3] The relevant portion of the story in the *Divyāvadāna* is as follows: Puṣyamitra asked his ministers how he might obtain everlasting fame. The ministers advised him to follow the example of Aśoka, who had built 84,000 *stūpas* and who had honoured the Buddhist Saṅgha. But Puṣyamitra found this beyond his means (*maheśākhyo rājā Aśoko babhūva anyaḥ kaścid upāya iti*). Then his Brāhmaṇa *purohita* advised him to do just the opposite of what Aśoka did, that is to destroy the *stūpas* and monasteries. Accordingly Puṣyamitra first went to Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. After describing how he fared there, the story suddenly informs us that he reached Śākala and declared that whosoever would give him a monk's head would receive from him one hundred *dīnāras* (*sa yāvacchākalaṃ anuprāptaḥ. Tenābhihitaṃ yo me śramaṇasiro dāsyati tasyāhaṃ dīnāraśataṃ dāsyāmi*).

Thus the evidence of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* shows that there was only one invasion in which the Indo-Greeks participated.[1] We are expressly told by our sources that they had to retreat from Pāṭaliputra because of conflict between the allies, and that the encounter on the banks of the Sindhu resulted in their defeat by Vasumitra.[2] The Western classical sources do not record any lasting Yavana conquest of these regions; when Strabo quotes Apollodorus, he himself records in parenthesis his doubts whether Menander actually crossed the Hypanis to advance as far as the Imaus.[3] Strabo's doubts may be due to the fact that he knew something about the unsuccessful nature of the Yavana advance in the Madhyadeśa.

The numismatic evidence also confirms this literary information. The coins of Menander—or for that matter of any other Indo-Greek king—are not commonly found east of the Ravi,[4] though a few have been reported from Saharanpur,[5] Sonipat,[6] and Bundelkhand,[7] and also in the Kangra[8] and Hoshiarpur districts;[9] stray specimens of Menander's money are not unknown in some places of northern India, but no hoards of Indo-Greek coins have come to light in these regions. Both Whitehead[10] and Allan[11] are

It is curious that the story takes Puṣyamitra to Śākala straight from Pāṭaliputra. Not only is the distance between the two considerable, but also there is no evidence to show that Śākala was an important enough centre of Buddhism in the Maurya or Śuṅga period to merit a mention on a level with Pāṭaliputra, especially when several other places in Madhyadeśa are omitted. It seems that the northern tradition, to which the *Divyāvadāna* belongs, added Śākala to Pāṭaliputra to give local colour to the story. Just as, according to other traditions, the Buddha visited places such as Ceylon and the remote north-west, where he could scarcely have gone, so events which may have served sectarian interests were probably transferred to suit local sentiments. Or we might suggest that the Śākala in the text is a mistake for Sāketa, which was probably in the dominion of Puṣyamitra, and which was a centre of Buddhist activity much nearer to Pāṭaliputra. Of course we must also note that some scholars have rejected the whole story of Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists as described in the *Divyāvadāna* on the grounds of the existence of Buddhist *stūpas* in Bharhut and Sāñchī.

[1] But cf. N. N. Ghosh, *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, 1946, pp. 45 ff.

[2] Patañjali's grammatical example referring to a siege of Madhyamikā (*supra*, p. 82) may be connected with the encounter on the banks of the Kālī Sindhu.

[3] Strabo, xi. 11. 1: *εἴ γε καὶ τὸν Ὕπανιν διέβη πρὸς ἕω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰμάου προῆλθε.*

[4] *NC*, 1923, pp. 305 ff.; *NC*, 1940, pp. 5 ff.

[5] E. Thomas, *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, i, 208, fn. 1.

[6] Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 276–9.

[7] Smith, *Ind. Ant.* xxxiii, 217.

[8] *NC*, 1873, p. 209.

[9] *NC*, 1923, p. 342.

[10] Ibid., pp. 305–6.

[11] Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 862–3.

strongly of the opinion that such finds of Indo-Greek coins are evidence not of their rule in these districts but of the popularity of their money, and this can easily be paralleled in other series of international currencies.[1] Further evidence of the commercial success of the Greek drachms is seen in the fact that they influenced the coinage of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas;[2] we believe that it was trade and commerce that took the drachms of Menander and Apollodotus to Barygaza,[3] and that it was their commercial success that led the western Kṣatrapas to imitate them. Moreover, Allan has shown that Mathurā was in the hands of the local kings until its conquest by Rājuvula who, like his son Ṣoḍāsa, copied the local type on his coins;[4] 'Had the Yavanas been already there', he writes, 'there would have been a break in the Hindu coinage earlier.'[5] The fact that the Śaka kings of Mathurā imitated the local type is very significant, for wherever the Śakas and the Pahlavas succeeded the Indo-Greeks they borrowed the type of the latter for their coins. Tarn's remark that the last Indo-Greek king to rule in Mathurā itself was Strato I in conjunction with his grandson[6] is based on Rapson, who actually says that '(Rājūla) struck coins in imitation of those of Strato I and Strato II, the last of the Yavana kings to reign in the Eastern Punjab'.[7] Apart from the fact that Mathurā is not in the Punjab, 'Eastern Punjab meant to Cunningham (Rapson's authority) what we should now call the North-eastern Punjab'.[8] Tarn's statement is, therefore, quite without foundation, and the coins supply no evidence of Indo-Greek rule in Mathurā. We must also note that such hoards as those found in Saharanpur, Sonipat, and Bundelkhand contain coins of several Indo-Greek kings[9] who ruled after Menander and whose kingdoms must have been situated much farther west than the regions where the coins have been discovered. If these coins are evidence of Menander's

[1] e.g. the finds of Roman coins in India and the gold coins of the Mamluks of Egypt found at Broach.

[2] Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv, ci–ciii; Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 862. For the coins cf. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, Pls. XIV–XVI, XXII–XXIII.

[3] Cf. *supra*, pp. 68–69.

[4] *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cxv–cxvi; in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 862.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Tarn, p. 323.

[7] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 575.

[8] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii, loc. cit.

[9] e.g. the Sonipat find contained coins of Menander, Strato, Antimachus II, Heliocles (II), Apollodotus, Antialcidas, Lysias, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Amyntas, and Hermaeus.

rule they also indicate that all the other kings in question governed the region, which is quite impossible.

Whitehead believes that the Indo-Greeks could have done no more than conduct cold-weather campaigns or make long-distance raids.[1] There is some truth in his stress on the climatic factor, but it can hardly be the whole reason for their failure to get any permanent control of the Gaṅgā–Jamunā Doab. Kings and peoples with ambitions of empire-building and the vigour and resource to carry out their plans do not brook any defiance from nature, especially when the political conditions are favourable. There must have been other factors which prevented the Indo-Greeks from permanently expanding beyond the Ravi. Their kings drew their strength not only from the Greek element in the population, but also from the Iranian peoples of the north-west; the farther they advanced from their 'adopted homelands of Kabul and Gandhāra', the less effective these elements became, while the local inhabitants became more hostile. A more important cause of their failure in eastern Punjab and Madhyadeśa can be found in the fact that these areas had been connected with the fabric of the Mauryan body-politic more closely and for a longer duration than Gandhāra and other parts of the north-west. The north-west became independent of Mauryan control not long after Aśoka, whereas the dynasty continued to rule for about fifty years in the Madhyadeśa until Bṛhadratha was killed by Puṣyamitra in Pāṭaliputra and other regional powers were established in other centres. These newly founded kingdoms were probably more vigorous than the kingdom of the later Mauryas, whose degeneration led to their rise. By the time the Indo-Greeks reached the climax of their power in the north-west, the areas east of the Ravi were probably the scene of vigorous political activity.

Throughout the second century B.C., and even as early as the last quarter of the third century, coins were issued by independent kings and peoples from the Ravi eastwards to Magadha. In the Hoshiarpur district between the Beas and Satlaj ruled the Rājanyas;[2] south of them in Jalandhar, with possible extensions in the Bari Doab between the Ravi and Satlaj, were the

[1] *NC*, 1940, p. 92. But cf. *contra*: Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 32, fn. 4.

[2] The coins of the Rājanya Janapada, commonly with Lakṣmī on obv. and bull on rev., bear inscriptions either in Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī. Those with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may be put in the second century B.C. and those with Brāhmī in the first century B.C. (*BMC Ancient India*, p. cxxiii).

Trigartas.[1] Farther east, in the northernmost parts of western Uttar Pradesh, the region of Almora enjoyed freedom and power.[2] South of Almora the Mitra kings of Pañcāla had their headquarters in Ahicchattrā and ruled the entire Rohilkhand division. Their power seems sometimes to have extended in the east to Basti and even as far as Magadha, and in the west probably as far as the territory later held by the Audumbaras, with whose coins some of those of the Mitra kings have been found.[3] In south-western Uttar Pradesh lay the kingdom of Mathurā.[4] To the east of these were the territories of the Uddehikas[5] and Kauśāmbī,[6] which touched the borders of the Śunga kingdom which may for some time have included Ayodhyā.[7] It is significant that the coinage of these people is not in the least influenced by the coin-types of the Indo-Greeks, though later even the more powerful Gupta kings could not escape the influence of the money of the Kuṣāṇas.

Tarn thinks that the territories of the Audumbaras,[8] Kuṇindas,[9] Yaudheyas,[10] and Ārjuṇāyanas[11] were included within the kingdom

[1] The coins of the Trigarta Janapada bearing Brāhmī inscriptions are dated in 'the first half of the second century B.C.' (*BMC Ancient India*, pp. cxxxix–cxl).

[2] The coins of the kings of Almora belong to the 'latter half of the second or first half of the first century B.C.' (ibid. pp. lxxx–lxxxi).

[3] Ibid., p. lxxxvi.

[4] Ibid., pp. cviii–cxvi.

[5] The coins of the Uddehikas or Audehikas, located in the 'middle country' by Varāhamihira, belong to the early second century B.C. (ibid., p. cxli).

[6] The earliest inscribed coins of Kauśāmbī's local dynasty 'cannot be later than the first half of the second century B.C.' (ibid., p. xcvi).

[7] It is known from the Ayodhyā inscription that a descendant of Puṣyamitra probably ruled there; cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96. Palaeographically this inscription is to be placed in the first century A.D.

[8] The Audumbaras occupied the area formed by the eastern part of the Kangra district, the Gurudaspur district, and Hoshiarpur district, i.e. the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Satlaj and the Ravi (*BMC Ancient India*, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxvii).

[9] Cunningham says that Kuṇinda coins are found mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur. They probably occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jamuna and the Satlaj and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj (ibid., pp. ci–civ).

[10] The evidence of coin-finds shows that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the eastern Punjab. Cunningham thinks that their name has survived in that of the modern Johiyas who occupy both banks of the Satlaj along the Bahawalpur frontier. Their seals and inscriptions have also been found at Ludhiana and Bharatpur (ibid., pp. cxlvii–cliii).

[11] The lands of the Ārjuṇāyanas probably lay within the triangle Delhi–Jaipur–Agra (ibid., pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii).

of Menander.[1] He gives two reasons: the Kulindrene (Kuṇindas) of Ptolemy, who, according to Tarn, gives the names of the Greek provinces in India, and the other territories mentioned above lay between Sāgala and Mathurā, and hence must have been included in the Greek kingdom; and these peoples started coining at the time which saw the end of Greek rule and the establishment of their independence. The first point is based on Tarn's assumption that Mathurā was ruled by Menander, which, as we have shown, is not correct. He further assumes that a group of Indian place-names ending in -ηνη described by Ptolemy, in a country where Greek had never before been used, were actually the names of Indo-Greek provinces going 'well back into the second century B.C.', that is, looking back to the flourishing period of the Indo-Greek rule, whether before the death of Demetrius or during the reign of Menander;[2] and he supposes that Ptolemy took this information from the so-called "Trogus" source'.[3] We are not competent to discuss the sources of Ptolemy in detail, but it is well known that he obtained information from many contemporary travellers and traders as well as from earlier sources, and thus much of his evidence must apply to a later period. Tarn thinks that -ηνη names were used for Seleucid eparchies and hence denote the names of the provinces in the Indo-Greek kingdom in India, which, according to him, was a Seleucid succession state. Altheim, on the other hand, maintains that the place-names in -ηνη do not necessarily indicate Seleucid eparchies.[4] Even if it be admitted that the -ηνη ending was regularly used by the Seleucids to indicate their eparchies it does not follow that the Indo-Greeks imitated them; if they did, why among the many Indian place-names preserved in Ptolemy are only four (Patalene, Surastrene, Soustene, and Kulindrene) imitations of the Seleucid terminology, whereas names like Goruaia, Gandaritis, Peucelaïtis, &c., which were also Greek provinces in India, do not end in -ηνη? It is strange that the centres where the Indo-Greeks ruled longest did not bear any such names, as against regions where their rule is only hypothetical. Ptolemy also mentions Ozene (Ujjain), which is not included in the Indo-Greek kingdom by Tarn, and was ruled by Indian powers. In fact it is totally unsafe to derive any conclusion, other than philological, from these name-endings.

[1] Tarn, pp. 238–40.
[2] Ibid., pp. 230 ff.; pp. 442–5.
[3] Tarn, pp. 231–3.
[4] Altheim, ii. 73.

As to the second point, it is true that the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas, and Ārjunāyanas did not issue coins in the early second century B.C. But this does not prove that they were subordinate to the Indo-Greeks, because the areas later occupied by these peoples were actually in the possession of the earlier Indian powers who, as we have shown, ruled there contemporaneously with the Indo-Greeks almost throughout the second century B.C. The argument of Tarn, therefore, is anachronistic.

The theory of the Indo-Greek conquests in the Indus delta and Gujarat was based mainly on the references in Strabo and the *Periplus*. We have shown, however, that the evidence relating to Barygaza in the *Periplus* does not prove the rule of either Menander or Apollodotus there.[1] To the statement of Whitehead that no coins have been found at Broach,[2] Tarn replied that 'this *might* suggest that Barygaza was not Broach'.[3] If this is so, it really solves the problem, for the doubt is not that the Greeks traded in Barygaza but that they ruled at Broach. The *Periplus* talks also of the traces of Alexander's expedition in Broach,[4] but no one believes that Alexander conquered Gujarat. The explanation that the story of the Indo-Greek conquest has been transferred to Alexander[5] is hardly convincing. Why should the author of the *Periplus*, who had at least the knowledge of the coins of Apollodotus and Menander, have been confused on this point? The fact remains that there is no evidence that either Alexander or the Indo-Greeks conquered Gujarat: the account of the *Periplus* is just a sailor's story.

Strabo is not to be blamed for the statement that the Greeks took possession of Patalene and the kingdoms of Saraostos and Sigerdis. He is simply quoting Apollodorus, about whom he says that '[he] even contradicts what was known, saying that these kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians'.[6] Apart from the fact that much reliance cannot be placed on this reference, we are not even sure of the location of the places mentioned.[7] If they

[1] *Supra*, pp. 68–69, 89.
[2] *NC*, 1940, p. 101, cf. also *supra*, p. 68.
[3] Tarn, Addenda, p. 527. The identification is universally accepted by Indologists.
[4] *Periplus*, § 41 (Schoff's translation, p. 39).
[5] Tarn, p. 148.
[6] Strabo, xv. 1. 3.
[7] Patalene is generally placed in the Indus delta, but Marcianus, i. 32, says that it was in Gedrosia (cf. Tarn, pp. 94, 260). Similarly, Barygaza is also placed in Gedrosia by Stephanus (cf. Tarn, p. 260); Tarn, p. 148, takes Sigerdis to mean the country between the Indus delta and Saurāṣṭra, including Kacch. But Altheim, i. 324, puts this kingdom south of Surastrene because Pliny mentions

denote the Indus delta, Kacch, and Kathiawar, the evidence which forbids us to believe in the story of the Indo-Greek rule in Barygaza (Broach)[1] also forbids us to make any such conclusion here, for no finds of Indo-Greek coins in these regions are attested. We have no grounds for the belief that either Demetrius I or Menander ruled in those lands. The theory that the Theophila mentioned by Ptolemy was a Greek city,[2] the capital of the kingdom of Sigerdis,[3] named after a supposed mother of Demetrius I and the hypothetical Apollodotus I,[4] lacks proof: we have no reason to believe that Demetrius I and Apollodotus were brothers born of the same mother and that her name was Theophila.

Certain inscriptions found in the caves at Nasik, Junnar, and Karle, recording religious gifts by Yavana donors,[5] have often been discussed in this connexion. But they should not concern us here, firstly, because none of these places are in Gujarat, and, secondly, because these inscriptions do not belong to the period of Indo-Greek rule.[6] Tarn himself, in his revised notes, is now doubtful of his own early dating.[7] The Yavanas mentioned in the inscriptions cannot be Indians, for the simple reason that they call themselves Yavanas. Tarn's argument against this obvious conclusion, that 'this is common sense; the conqueror does not adopt the nomenclature of the conquered',[8] is out of place in ancient India. The Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas took Indian names, and they were not men of 'low-class' or 'broken by circumstances' who 'might occasionally "go native" '.[9] The Greeks were cultured people who could discuss matters of religion with Indian monks and become converts to Buddhism; why should it be surprising if the Buddhist Yavana who made donations called himself Dhammayavana?[10] These Yavanas do not seem to have come overland from north-western India;

a harbour Sigerus in those parts; he also cites the late P. Schnabel as making Sigerdis Magadha! Cf. also Tarn, Addenda, pp. 527, 368. Cf. Sohoni, *JBRS*, 1949, pp. 71 ff.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 68–69.
[2] Tarn, pp. 147, 526.
[3] Ibid., pp. 234–5.
[4] Tarn, p. 147.
[5] Cf. a complete list of these inscriptions in *IC*, i. 343–57, with notes by Otto Stein.
[6] Cf. for dates, O. Stein, op. cit., p. 351; Johnston, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 235.
[7] Tarn, Addenda, p. 531.
[8] Tarn, p. 255.
[9] Ibid., pp. 254–5. We are unable to follow Tarn when he says that 'some Sacas did take Indian names . . . but that is not in point' (p. 254, fn. 7).
[10] Karli inscription No. 10 (*Ep. Ind.* vii. 55 ff.). *Dhenukākaṭā Dhammāyavanasa.*

they may have been Alexandrian Greeks or even Romans who came to trade and settled down in inland towns, to serve perhaps as exporting agents of Indian goods.[1]

We have hardly any evidence for the system of administration under Menander. His kingdom must have been divided into provinces, perhaps under 'Strategoi', a title which was used in the Śaka-Pahlava period and which was probably borrowed by them from the Indo-Greeks.[2] That there were other administrative subdivisions can be inferred from the existence of 'Meridarchs', the names of two of whom, one bearing a Greek name[3] and the other an Indian,[4] have come down to us from inscriptions. Tarn notes that Meridarchs are not heard of in the Seleucid empire and it is strange to meet them in India;[5] we cannot define them more closely than as subordinate governors of parts of a satrapy.

It is very likely that Menander, having a busy career and wide dominions, appointed a few sub-kings. Antimachus II is generally thought to have been one of them.[6] Probably, as a grandson of Antimachus I Theos,[7] he was related to Demetrius II and Menander, with whom he is associated by the common use of the 'Gorgon's head' type;[8] we suggest that he was probably a brother of Menander.[9] Certainly the abundant drachms of Antimachus II, which are of uniform type and style, testify to his importance; he must have been a prominent sub-king of Menander and a trusted general, who probably helped him in some of his campaigns.[10]

Antimachus II did not strike tetradrachms, and none of his coins bear a portrait.[11] His characteristic type is 'Nike and king on

[1] Cf. also Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 68.
[2] Tarn, p. 241; but cf. Marshall, op. cit. i. 40, fn. 3.
[3] The Swat relic vase inscription of the 'Meridarch' Theodorus (*CII*, p. 1) and the Taxila Meridarch inscription (*CII*, p. 4).
[4] Viyakamitra (?) of the Bajaur casket inscription.
[5] Tarn, p. 242.
[6] Tarn, pp. 229–30; Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 34.
[7] Tarn, pp. 78, 229, calls him a son of Antimachus I but considers him a contemporary of Menander; we have dated Menander later than Tarn, and hence, keeping in view the type and style of Antimachus' coins, it is more than likely that he was a grandson of Antimachus I Theos.
[8] Antimachus II, *PMC*, Pl. VII. 573; Demetrius II, *IMC*, Pl. I. 12; Menander, *PMC*, Pl. VI. 496.
[9] Antimachus II used the 'Nike type' in common with Antimachus I and Menander, the 'aegis with Gorgon's head' in common with Demetrius II and Menander, and 'king on prancing horse' in common with Menander.
[10] Tarn, loc. cit.
[11] In this respect he resembles Apollodotus, but the latter struck coins with his portrait in the later part of his career; cf. *infra*, p. 126.

prancing horse'.[1] It has been generally considered as a new type initiated by Antimachus II,[2] but a drachm of Menander with 'king on prancing horse' also exists,[3] which is another link between him and Antimachus II. It is significant that not a single coin of Antimachus II was found in Taxila excavations.[4] On the other hand, the Bajaur hoards contain a good number of his coins,[5] and the Mir Zakah Treasure has 133.[6] It would seem from the distribution of his coins that Antimachus II governed the Swat valley and northern Arachosia, each for some time.[7] Tarn called him a sub-king of Gandhāra, but Gandhāra is a large region, and we prefer to confine him first to the Swat valley and later to northern Arachosia, to which province he may have been transferred towards the end of his career.[8] All his monograms are those which are commonly found on Menander's coins. He minted coins out of all proportion to the status of a sub-king, which not only shows his prominence but also suggests that he may have outlived Menander to rule independently for a few years.

Polyxenus and Epander seem also to have been sub-kings of Menander.[9] Polyxenus' coins are very rare, and were first discovered by White King.[10] On the silver money he has 'diademed bust and Pallas'.[11] The copper type presents a helmeted bust of Athena, as on the copper money of Menander, on the obverse, and an aegis radiate with Gorgon's head on the reverse.[12] Polyxenus

[1] *PMC*, Pl. VII. 557. [2] *CHI*, pp. 546–7; Tarn, pp. 230, 316.

[3] It was illustrated in *White King Sale Catalogue*, Pl. X. 964, and attention was drawn to it by Whitehead in *PMC*, p. 63, but we do not find much notice of it. Cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, p. 14. Also Pl. II. 8.

[4] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766–7.

[5] Martin, *NS*, xl (1926–7), 18–21, reported 152 coins in the First Bajaur hoard. Haughton, *NC*, 1947, pp. 141–5, reported 17 out of 120 of coins examined by him in the Second Bajaur hoard. Cf. also *JNSI*, 1942, p. 61.

[6] Schlumberger, p. 78.

[7] Cf. *infra*, p. 104. A few odd coins of Antimachus II have come from the Kabul valley and western Gandhāra, to which no particular importance need be given.

[8] Cf. *infra*, p. 112. [9] Marshall, op. cit. i. 34.

[10] The silver drachm which was in the collection of White King passed to the Punjab Museum. It was an object of controversy. E. J. Rapson doubted its authenticity but Whitehead considered it genuine and published it (*PMC*, p. 53, Pl. V. 371). White King also possessed the copper piece (ibid.), which Rodgers published in *NC*, 1896, pp. 268–9. [11] *PMC*, Pl. V. 371.

[12] *PMC*, Pl. V. 372. A coin of this type in beautiful condition is in the collection of Mr. Cuthbert King, cf. *NC*, 1940, p. 107. The coin, which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, reads *Paliksinasa* instead of *Palisinasa* in the Kharoṣṭhī legend.

on his coins assumed the grandiloquent titles of 'Epiphanes' and 'Soter'.[1] It is difficult to say which province he ruled, but certainly he cannot be placed east of the Indus; no coins of his have been noticed in Taxila.[2] In the Mir Zakah Treasure there is one coin of Polyxenus;[3] his money is still very scarce. Haughton has listed Peshawar and Utmanzai as the provenance of his coins.[4]

The coinage of Epander is also rare. His silver money represents Pallas as on Menander's coins,[5] while the copper bears 'Winged Nike and Humped bull'.[6] Until recently his silver was known only in the drachm denomination; the first large piece in silver was published by Whitehead in 1947.[7] Cunningham remarked that the coins of Epander do not help us in fixing his position either in time or place, but he thought that Epander must have ruled in the Upper Kabul valley.[8] Whitehead has proposed to place him in the latter half of the second century B.C.[9]

Menander's kingdom shows Indo-Greek power at its height. He ruled from the Kabul valley in the west to the Ravi in the east, and from the Swat valley in the north to northern Arachosia in the south. Cunningham thought that, encouraged by his success in India and regions south of the Hindu Kush, Menander planned to recover Bactria, and that he probably helped the Seleucid Demetrius II in his campaign against Parthia, but died in the course of his march to the west.[10] Plutarch called Menander a Bactrian king,[11] and Strabo included him among the Bactrian Greeks.[12] We now know of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander.[13] Cunningham's guess may, like many of his remarkable anticipations, prove to be true.

Tarn remarked that 'the idea that Menander ever became a Buddhist in the sense of entering the Order may be dismissed at once'.[14] He is right. But when he says that the evidence of the

[1] *PMC*, p. 53.

[2] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766–7. Tarn, p. 317, placed him with the eastern group of kings, but Whitehead has shown that Polyxenus can be reasonably placed west of the Indus (*NC*, 1940, p. 108).

[3] Schlumberger, p. 77. [4] *NC*, 1943, p. 59.

[5] *PMC*, Pl. VI. 516; *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 9. [6] *PMC*, Pl. VI. 517.

[7] *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 9. It is in the collection of Mr. H. Shortt; there is another in General Haughton's.

[8] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 215. [9] *NC*, 1947, p. 46.

[10] Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 270–3.

[11] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D–E. [12] Strabo, xi. 11. 1.

[13] Bivar, *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1954. Also Pl. II. 7.

[14] Tarn, p. 268.

Milindapañha does not indicate that he was a Buddhist, though he admits that 'no one can prove that Menander was *not* a Buddhist',[1] we fail to agree. His argument that Menander's adoption of Athena, 'the one Greek deity who was practically never equated with anything Oriental', is against it, does not convince us. Kaniṣka, who was known to be a Buddhist, used many non-Buddhist deities, and those of his coins which figure Buddha are very rare.[2] In the time of Menander the Buddha-image had almost certainly not evolved,[3] but it is probable that the wheel on some coins of Menander is connected with Buddhism.[4] Tarn's deduction that the wheel means only that Menander proclaimed himself a 'Cakravartin'[5] is not justified in the opinion of Allan, who thinks that 'this wheel must have a common origin with the wheel found on the *Pañcanekame* coins and the wheel so familiar on Buddhist sculpture'.[6] Marshall has noted that the wheel was well established as a Buddhist symbol before the *Pañcanekame* coins were issued, and he thinks that there is no evidence to connect it especially with Taxila.[7] The statement of Plutarch that when Menander died 'the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities',[8] is significant and reminds one of the story of the Buddha. It is also interesting to note that local tradition connects with Menander the origin of the most famous statue of Buddha in Indo-China, the statue of Buddha of the Emerald, which Menander's teacher Nāgasena materialized out of a magic emerald by supernatural power.[9] In fact if Menander is known to Indian tradition it is because of the Buddhist literature.[10] Further, we do not believe in the theory that Menander adopted the faith only nominally and as a matter of policy against Puṣyamitra to win over the Buddhists to

[1] Tarn, pp. 268–9.
[2] *BMC*, pp. lx ff.
[3] But cf. for the Indo-Chinese tradition, Coedès, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxv (1925), 112; xxx (1931), 448.
[4] Marshall, op. cit. i. 33–34.
[5] Tarn, p. 263.
[6] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 859.
[7] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 33–34.
[8] *Moralia*, 821 D–E.
[9] Coedès, loc. cit.
[10] For what it is worth there is also the evidence of Tārānātha, which seems to be based on a tradition independent of the *Milindapañha*. This contains a reference to King Minara in the land of the Tukhāras, who is identified with Menander by Lassen.

his side.[1] The overthrow of the Maurya dynasty by Puṣyamitra was not a result of a Brahmanical reaction and there is no substantial evidence that he persecuted the Buddhists.[2] We are unable to understand why the title 'Soter' on Menander's coins meant that he was 'the Saviour' of the Buddhists and of all who stood for the old Maurya power against the usurper Puṣyamitra,[3] when we know how common was this epithet with the Indo-Greek kings.

Menander's very numerous coinage attests both the size of his kingdom and its flourishing commerce. Tarn suggests that, because Athena had been one of the three regular deities on Alexander's coinage, Menander adopted this device in order to emphasize that 'in spite of the predominantly Indian character of his empire, he was still a Greek king'; Zeus and Heracles, the other two deities of Alexander's coinage, had already been adopted by Antiochus IV and the Euthydemids respectively.[4] But we must note that Pallas was used by Demetrius II before Menander, and we have suggested earlier that Menander's adoption of Pallas links him, as do the elephant's head and the head of Gorgon on his coins, with Demetrius II, who used the same type.[5] The significance of the rather striking variety of types on his coins is obscure. It is strange, however, that Menander's coinage does not reveal much sympathy with local or Indian types.[6] It seems that the gold coins with Pallas' head and owl but without any legend were struck by Menander,[7] and were probably the last gold issues of the Indo-Greek kings. His silver money consists predominantly of drachms; tetradrachms are comparatively few in number. The variety of his types can be studied on his copper coins rather than on his silver issues. The bust of a male figure, who may be Menander himself, in the garb of Poseidon, on one of his copper coins is very striking;[8] the representation of Menander in various poses on his silver money also reflects his vigorous career. He used two epithets, 'Soter' and 'Dikaios', on his money. As the coins bearing the title 'Dikaios' are rarer than those which bear 'Soter', and as they represent Menander

[1] Tarn, p. 175; Marshall, op. cit., p. 33.
[2] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 388–9.
[3] Tarn, loc. cit.; Marshall, loc. cit.
[4] Tarn, pp. 261–2. See also A. B. Brett, *ANS Museum Notes*, IV, pp. 64–65.
[5] *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, pp. 6 and 13–15.
[6] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 859.
[7] Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, pp. 105–6.
[8] Whitehead (*NC*, 1950, p. 215) does not believe this and suggests that it is Poseidon himself.

as older than on the 'Soter' coins, it has been supposed that they were struck towards the close of his reign.[1] It is not unlikely that 'Dikaios', which is translated *Dhramika* in the Kharoṣṭhī legend, may be connected with his adoption of the Buddhist faith; but we must note that this title was also taken by his predecessor Agathocles and his contemporary Heliocles I.

The fact that Menander appears on his coins both as a youth and as well advanced in middle age shows that he must have had a long reign; his extensive coinage and the nature and extent of his achievements seem to confirm this. Probably, therefore, he died in *c.* 130 B.C. The Buddhist tradition would have us believe that he handed over his kingdom to his son and retired from the world,[2] but it is more likely that he died in camp, as Plutarch says,[3] and, on the evidence of coins, that he left only a minor son to succeed him.[4]

The greatness and popularity of Menander are attested not only by the overwhelming predominance of his coins over those of other Indo-Greek kings, but also by the survival of his name in tradition. Surely he was the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings of India.

[1] Tarn, p. 262.
[2] Tarn, pp. 266–7; Demiéville, 'Les Versions chinoises du Milindapañha', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxiv. 26.
[3] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D–F.
[4] Cf. *infra*, pp. 110 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE DECLINE OF THE INDO-GREEKS

THE history of the Indo-Greeks after the death of Eucratides and Menander is indeed difficult to reconstruct. The slender thread of literary evidence breaks off; the tribes which destroyed Indo-Greek power are barely mentioned in the classical sources and not a single king of this period is referred to by name except Apollodotus in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*[1] The *Purāṇas* speak of eight Yavana kings, but we do not know who they were and no details of their reigns are given.[2] But this does not mean that the period was a blank in Indo-Greek history. The large number of kings whose coins are the only testimonies of their achievements are to be packed in a limited space and time. Certainties are few and surmises are many, and any arrangement is hypothetical and open to criticism.

The new and remarkable discoveries of the Mir Zakah Treasure[3] and the Qunduz hoard[4] have solved some problems and created others, but the balance is favourable to the historian, although at the present stage a detailed study of these important finds is not possible. Much to our regret the Mir Zakah Treasure has not been described in detail by its discoverers, but a very useful inventory of the coins is given us and this allows us to make some use of the material.[5] The importance of this treasure can be appreciated from the fact that it contained more than 2,500 Indo-Greek coins, more than 4,000 Scytho-Parthian, over 5,500 punch-marked, about 100 Taxila, and a few other old Greek and Parthian coins. If the Mir Zakah Treasure is important for its quantity, the Qunduz hoard is of far-reaching significance for its quality. This hoard has given us, for the first time after 200 years of numismatic research, the

[1] § 47 (Schoff, *The Periplus of The Erythraean Sea*, p. 41); cf. also *supra*, pp. 66–69.
[2] Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 44 ff.
[3] The Mir Zakah Treasure does not seem to be a 'hoard' in the normal numismatic sense, but its evidence will have to be used.
[4] Bivar, *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1954, also *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3; Narain, *JNSI*, 1954, pp. 183 ff.
[5] Schlumberger, pp. 67–69.

Attic tetradrachms of several Indo-Greek kings[1] whose coins of this denomination were hitherto unknown, and it has also brought to light the largest silver coin known in any Greek series of coinage.[2] It is fair to assume that Attic tetradrachms are evidence for a residuum of Indo-Greek power north of the Hindu Kush even after Heliocles I, and the view that there was a simple division of Indo-Greek power between the house of Eucratides to the west of the Jhelum and that of Euthydemus to the east[3] needs considerable revision. 'We get an impression of the simultaneous rule of more than one king, of mutual antagonism, confusion, and civil war. The Yavanas seem to have been their own worst enemies'[4] until the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Yüeh-chih (Kuṣāṇas) finally overthrew them in different regions at different times.

On the basis of the predominating type of their coins we shall divide the later Indo-Greek kings into five groups:[5]

(I) Strato I, Apollodotus, Zoilus II, Dionysius, Apollophanes, and Strato II. These kings use both Pallas and Apollo and are probably connected with Menander.

(II) Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Nicias, and Hippostratus, who are connected with each other by their common use of the 'king on prancing horse' type. This group is probably connected with Menander,[6] and may be traced to Antimachus I Theos. The first two groups thus seem to be allied.[7]

(III) Zoilus I, Lysias, and Theophilus use Heracles in common, and they may be remnants of the family of Euthydemus and Demetrius I.

(IV) Eucratides II, Archebius, Heliocles II, Antialcidas, Diomedes, Amyntas, Telephus, and Hermaeus seem to belong to the family of Eucratides I. With the exception of Eucratides II and Diomedes, who use Apollo and Dioscuri respectively, the kings of this group are associated by their main type, Zeus.

(V) Artemidorus and Peucolaus, who use Artemis on their coins,

[1] Archebius, Philoxenus, Lysias, Theophilus, and Hermaeus.

[2] Five coins of two types struck by Amyntas. They are double decadrachms.

[3] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 545.

[4] Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, p. 308.

[5] For coin-types of these kings see *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1. An exception has been made in the case of Eucratides II and Diomedes, who have been put in group IV for obvious reasons discussed in the relevant places.

[6] A drachm of 'king on prancing horse' type struck by Menander is known; see *White King Sale Catalogue*, Pl. X. 964. Also Pl. II. 8.

[7] Cf. *supra*, pp. 95–96.

seem to form a small group of their own, but may not belong to the same family.

We shall divide, similarly, the Indo-Greek kingdom as it existed in *c.* 130 B.C.[1] into seven regions:

1. North of the Hindu Kush, or roughly the area known as Badakshan.
2. The Kabul valley, or the Paropamisadae.
3. The Ghazni area, or northern Arachosia.
4. West of the Indus (including Peshawar and some tribal regions), or western Gandhāra with Puṣkalāvatī as chief centre.
5. The Swat valley, or Udyāna.
6. East of the Indus, or Taxila region.
7. East of the Jhelum, or the Jammu-Sialkot region.

These regional divisions are to be taken rather as a rough indication than as precise boundaries. We have now the advantage of knowing some key findspots of the coins in these regions. These key finds which are our indices are: for region 1, the Qunduz hoard;[2] 2, the list compiled by Masson at the end of his three seasons' collection;[3] 3, the Mir Zakah Treasure;[4] 4, the Mohmand find and the geographical list prepared by Haughton;[5] 5, the two Bajaur hoards;[6] 6, Marshall's list of Indo-Greek coins found in the Taxila excavations;[7] and 7, Haughton's list and the notes of Whitehead and Allan.[8] Help has been taken from the accounts given by Cunningham,[9] and we have also checked from Noe's *Bibliography of Greek Coin-hoards* and Hackin's map of the geographical distribution of the coins of the Yavana-Kuṣāṇa period.[10] In cross-dividing

[1] This is the date we have arrived at for the death of Menander and also of Eucratides II; cf. *infra*, p. 107. The latter we believe to have been the last Indo-Greek king to have control over the whole of Bactria.

[2] *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May 1954; *JNSI*, 1954, pp. 183 ff.; *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3.

[3] *JASB*, 1836, p. 547. In *NC*, 1923, p. 315, Whitehead noticed coins from a find which he described as coming from Kabul, and Noe, op. cit., p. 141, followed him. But Whitehead remarked later that those coins were from Charsadda, cf. *NC*, 1947, pp. 41–42.

[4] Schlumberger, pp. 73–83.

[5] *NC*, 1943, pp. 50–59.

[6] Martin, *NS* xl (1926–7), 18–21; Haughton, *JNSI*, 1942, p. 61; *NC*, 1947, pp. 141–5.

[7] Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 766–7.

[8] *NC*, 1943, p. 51; *NC*, 1923, p. 314; *BMC Ancient India*, p. lxxxiv.

[9] In *CASE*.

[10] *JA*, 1935, pp. 287–92.

the Indo-Greek kings of the five groups into seven regional groups we have adopted the following principle. As regards the Qunduz hoard we have ignored the number of coins of a particular king of this period, since the very fact that they struck Attic tetradrachms indicates that they ruled over some districts north of the Hindu Kush. As regards the finds in other regions the number of coins of a given king cannot be ignored; therefore we have assumed a minimum according to the strength of the hoard, and the kings whose coins are below that minimum are not taken into account, e.g. in the Mir Zakah Treasure of over 2,500 coins the kings whose coins number below ten are not counted. Exception has been made in the case of ephemeral kings such as Telephus, Theophilus, Artemidorus, Peucolaus, &c., whose coins are very scarce.

The following Chart forms the basis of our reconstruction in this and the next chapter:

	Groups of kings				
Regional groups	I	II	III	IV	V
1. North of the Hindu Kush	..	Philoxenus	Lysias Theophilus	Eucratides II Archebius Antialcidas Amyntas* Hermaeus	..
2. The Kabul valley	Apollodotus	Philoxenus	Lysias	Archebius Heliocles II Antialcidas Amyntas Hermaeus	Peucolaus
3. Ghazni region	Strato I Apollodotus	Antimachus II Philoxenus	Zoilus I Lysias	Archebius Antialcidas	..
4. Western Gandhāra	Strato I Apollodotus	Antimachus II Philoxenus Nicias Hippostratus	Theophilus	Antialcidas Diomedes Amyntas Hermaeus	Artemidorus
5. The Swat valley	Apollodotus	Antimachus II	Zoilus I	..	..
6. Taxila Region	Strato I Apollodotus	Philoxenus Hippostratus	..	Antialcidas Telephus Hermaeus	..
7. Jammu-Sialkot area	Strato I Apollodotus Zoilus II Dionysus Apollophanes Strato II	..	..	..	..

* No Attic tetradrachms, but five double decadrachms found in the Qunduz hoard.

We have shown that Heliocles I ultimately acquired control of Bactria after the death of Eucratides, and that the regions south of

the Hindu Kush passed to Menander.[1] The extent of Menander's kingdom makes any extension of Heliocles I's control south of the Hindu Kush well nigh impossible. We have no evidence to show that he held Seistan and southern Arachosia. Marshall believes that the Zeus type found on the silver coins of the Scytho-Parthian kings is copied from coins of Heliocles, and hence that the latter must have regained Arachosia and Seistan;[2] and earlier scholars maintained that he reconquered parts of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra from the successors of Menander.[3] But these views must be revised in the light of the discovery of the existence of two Heliocles, one who struck only monolingual coins and the other who issued bilingual.[4] Gardner was impressed by the contrast between the portraits on the two types, and tentatively suggested the existence of a second Heliocles,[5] while in the *White King Sale Catalogue* the types are actually referred to as of Heliocles I and Heliocles II.[6] Tarn also entertained the possibility of two kings of the same name,[7] and Whitehead, who has been advised that the two portraits are anatomically different, has shown that the portrait of the monolingual Heliocles *must* be distinguished from that of the bilingual.[8] We shall refer to the Heliocles of the bilingual coins later; here it will suffice to say that the hypothesis of two Heliocles simplifies the problems of the period by avoiding the difficulty of postulating a Heliocles ruling to the south of the Hindu Kush, in the Kabul valley, and in Gandhāra, almost contemporaneously with Menander. The fact that no bilingual coins of Eucratides II and Heliocles I are attested indicates that, with the death of Eucratides I and the rise of Menander, the successors of the former lost all their possessions south of the Hindu Kush. The overstriker of the money of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia would then be Heliocles II.[9]

It is likely, as Tarn has said, that the outlying provinces of the Bactrian kingdom in Iran were lost, and the Parthian frontier was again the Arius, and, though there is no definite evidence,

[1] *Supra*, p. 77. [2] *Taxila*, ii. 779.
[3] Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 536, 553.
[4] Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, pp. 211–12.
[5] *BMC*, p. 23, Pl. VII. 5–8; cf. *BMC*, Pl. VII. 1 and 5.
[6] Nos. 43–45 (Heliocles I) and Nos. 46–49 (Heliocles II).
[7] Tarn, p. 272.
[8] Whitehead, op. cit., pp. 211–12, 214, Pl. XII. 7; cf. Pl. II. 2 and Pl. II. 4, 6.
[9] Only the bilingual copper coins of Heliocles are found overstruck on Strato I.

Mithridates I presumably retained Herat, since otherwise he would have had no through communication between Parthia and Seistan.[1] Thus the kingdom of Heliocles I included besides Bactria proper only the provinces of Badakshan in the east and Sogdiana in the north. The coins of Heliocles I generally come from the areas north of the Hindu Kush and in the Qunduz find there are 204 of his coins out of a total of 610. His coins were the latest among those copied by the nomad tribes of the north and it is therefore probable that he was the last Indo-Greek to rule over regions north of the Oxus. The usual view that he was the last to rule over Bactria[2] must be revised because, firstly, the Attic tetradrachms of several later Indo-Greek kings have now been found,[3] and, secondly, the Chinese evidence, which will be discussed in the next chapter, clearly indicates that Bactria, south of the Oxus, was not occupied by the nomads all at once. The overthrow of the Indo-Greeks in Bactria actually followed an earlier occupation of Sogdiana or the regions north of the Oxus, where the conquering tribes found the money of Heliocles I and copied it. The Yüeh-chih did not effect complete political subjugation of Bactria, south of the Oxus, until some time after 129–128 B.C.[4]

Marshall, who believes in only one Heliocles, maintained that his reign could not have been a long one, 'judging by the comparative rarity of his coins'.[5] But the coins of Heliocles I are perhaps not as rare as Marshall thinks, and, if the Qunduz hoard is any indication, we may assign him a rule of ten to fifteen years; probably he died in *c.* 140 B.C. About the same time the Seleucid Demetrius II made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Parthia.[6] This was also the time when Menander had reached the height of his power, and, therefore, if we believe the evidence of Plutarch, who called him a king of Bactria, we may suppose that at the death of Heliocles I Menander tried to extend his arms to the north of the Hindu Kush.[7]

[1] Tarn, p. 270.
[2] Macdonald, *CHI*, 461: 'He is the last king of India whose money is found to the north of the Hindu Kush.' But cf. also Tarn, p. 273, who thinks that Antialcidas may for a time have had some connexion with Bactria.
[3] The coins of the following later Indo-Greek kings are in the Qunduz hoard: Eucratides II, Heliocles I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Archebius, Theophilus, Philoxenus, Amyntas, and Hermaeus.
[4] Cf. *infra*, pp. 138–40.
[5] *Taxila*, i. 35.
[6] Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 22–25.
[7] *Supra*, p. 97. An Attic tetradrachm of Menander has now been found.

Coins of Eucratides II seem to be more closely related to those of Heliocles I than to those of Eucratides I.[1] He may well have been a son and successor of Heliocles I. Two types of his coins are known:[2] one with a youthful head and bearing the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, and the other with the bust of a sickly man approaching middle age and bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ; on the reverse of both these issues appears 'Apollo standing' with bow and arrow. If he ruled for about ten years his reign must have ended in *c.* 130 B.C. He ruled in Bactria proper and Badakshan; in the Qunduz hoard there are 130 of his coins. There is no evidence that he ruled south of the Hindu Kush, and this is impossible in view of the contemporary rule of Menander there. Probably it was during the reign of Eucratides II that the Scythians of the Jaxartes–Oxus area, being pressed by the Yüeh-chih, crossed the Oxus, occupied Bactria proper,[3] and became a source of trouble to the Parthians in the reign of Artabanus II and Phraates II.[4] Henceforward the kingdom of the Indo-Greeks north of the Hindu Kush was confined mainly to Badakshan, where they probably controlled some hill-enclaves until their final subjection by the Yüeh-chih.

We have distinguished the bilingual coins of Heliocles as the issues of Heliocles II. There is no doubt that the portraits of Heliocles II on his coins are of a man well advanced in middle age and considerably older than the latest portraits of Eucratides II.[5] It is therefore unlikely that Heliocles II was a son of Eucratides II. He may have been a son of Heliocles I and a brother of Eucratides II. The coins of Heliocles II, to the best of our knowledge, are not found north of the Hindu Kush; in the Qunduz hoard, whereas the coins of Archebius and Antialcidas are represented by a few specimens, Heliocles II is absent altogether. It seems that Eucratides II was succeeded by a king, who may have been his son, and who was later superseded by Heliocles II; Heliocles II was therefore possibly the uncle of the king whom he superseded. This would explain the comparatively aged portrait of Heliocles II. Two kings, Archebius and Heliocles II, overstruck the money of Strato[6] and

[1] *Supra*, p. 71. See Pl. II. 1, 2, and 5.
[2] *BMC*, Pl. V. 4; *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 1.
[3] *Infra*, pp. 140–2.
[4] Debevoise, op. cit., pp. 35 ff., 58 ff.; cf. *infra*, pp. 140–2.
[5] See Pl. II; compare Nos. 4 and 6 with No. 5.
[6] For the overstrike of Archebius cf. Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 801, and Whitehead

hence both may have been connected in time and place. We suppose that Archebius was the king who intervened between Eucratides II and Heliocles II. Rapson, however, held that Archebius was a successor of Antialcidas and that after his reign the region of Taxila passed from the Indo-Greeks to the Śakas.[1] His reason was that the type *pilei* of the coins of Eucratides I and Antialcidas is continued by Archebius, after whose reign it is no longer found on Indo-Greek coins, but appears again on the small silver coins of Liaka Kusulaka, the satrap of Cukṣa (in the neighbourhood of Taxila) under Maues.[2] This argument was accepted as conclusive by Tarn,[3] but it is far from being so. There is no ground to believe that the *pilei* of the Dioscuri was a type of Taxila,[4] and adoption of this type is no evidence that Archebius ruled there. In the excavations of Taxila not more than 7 coins of Archebius are reported, out of which 3 are of 'elephant and owl' type and 1 of 'Nike and owl'.[5] Marshall, who believed that the *pilei* on the coins of Archebius point to his having ruled at Taxila, did not think that they afford any indication of the date of his rule. Had Liaka Kusulaka imitated the coins of Archebius there would perhaps have been some reason for concluding that he came immediately after him, but the coins which Liaka Kusulaka copied were those of Eucratides I, not those of Archebius.[6] On the other hand, as we show later, we have reason to believe that the Indo-Greek kings whom the Śaka-Pahlavas succeeded in these regions were most probably Apollodotus and Hippostratus.[7] Neither on the basis of monograms nor on the grounds of quality and style of engraving is it right to date Archebius near the time of the Śaka conquest of Taxila.[8] Cunningham believed Heliocles and Archebius to be father and son;[9] he did not distinguish two Heliocles and so naturally thought Heliocles to be the predecessor.

It seems that, when Archebius succeeded Eucratides II in *c.* 130 B.C., not long after his accession, being deprived of Bactria proper, he extended his power to the south of the Hindu Kush and gained control of the Kabul and Ghazni region. He was successful

in his *Commentary on RUC*, in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii, p. 836. For the overstrike of Heliocles cf. Rapson, *CHI*, p. 553, and *supra*, p. 105.

1. *CHI*, p. 559.
2. Ibid.
3. Tarn, p. 315.
4. Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 96.
5. Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 766–7.
6. Ibid. i. 39.
7. *Infra*, pp. 145–53.
8. Cf. also Marshall, op. cit. i. 39.
9. *CASE*, p. 242.

in this scheme because Menander had just died and, as we shall see below, there was some weakening of the southern Indo-Greek kingdom owing to the reign of a minor king. Only one of his coins was found at Begram by Masson, but Cunningham testifies that the majority of them came from Kabul.[1] In the Mir Zakah Treasure, too, there are about 100 coins of Archebius.[2] It would appear that he may have controlled parts of western Gandhāra for some time, but it is doubtful whether he advanced as far as Taxila. Besides his normal Zeus type, Archebius struck copper money bearing Victory, an owl, an elephant, and the *pilei*;[3] the owl is also found on Menander's money.[4] His portraits do not show very marked differences and thus he may have ruled for about seven or eight years only.

Heliocles II, the uncle of Archebius, seems to have succeeded him, and he too overstruck the money of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia. His coins are distributed over almost the same areas as those of Archebius, except north of the Hindu Kush, but perhaps they are not so numerous as those of the latter. In the Mir Zakah Treasure there are only nine of his coins and in the Taxila excavations only seven were found. On the other hand, his coins are comparatively numerous in western Gandhāra.[5] His silver coin-type is Zeus, generally standing with a thunderbolt in his hand. Among the copper coin-types, for the first time in the Indo-Greek coinage, we find the 'elephant and bull' together,[6] a type which became very popular with Apollodotus and was continued by the Śaka-Pahlava kings.[7] Cunningham has noted that probably a coin of Philoxenus also was overstruck by Heliocles,[8] obviously Heliocles II. This would be quite in keeping with the position of Philoxenus in our scheme; Heliocles II and Philoxenus were contemporaries. Since Heliocles II came to the throne late in his life and his features are almost unchanging on his coins, he does not seem to have ruled for long; the rule of both Archebius and Heliocles II may not have covered more than fifteen years, and thus Heliocles II probably died in *c.* 115 B.C. But before we turn to his successor Antialcidas

1. *CASE*, p. 241.
2. Schlumberger, p. 76.
3. *PMC*, Pl. IV. 225, 230; *BMC*, Pl. IX. 6, 7.
4. *PMC*, Pl. VI. 480; *NC*, 1940, Pl. VIII. 1; *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 4.
5. Cf. Haughton's list, *NC*, 1943, p. 56.
6. *PMC*, Pl. III. 149.
7. *Supra*, p. 65.
8. *CASE*, p. 189. Unfortunately not illustrated.

we must see what happened in the kingdom of Menander after the latter's death.

The general view that Agathocleia was the queen of Menander and that Strato was their son is based on the evidence of coins.[1] A study of their money[2] shows that Strato was a minor son when Menander died and so Agathocleia probably ruled as regent. She struck coins with her own portrait which, according to Haughton, has a very 'Indian' look about it as regards features, style of hair-dressing, and even in what is visible of the dress. She took the title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ on the obverse; the reverse has 'a warrior fully armed to r.' with the Prākrit legend in Kharoṣṭhī giving the name of Strato. The curious epithet ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ used by Agathocleia is unique.[3] Prinsep had remarked that it must have been devised on purpose for the queen mother in allusion to her royal offspring.[4] Rapson's view that this title connects her with Euthydemus Theos[5] is not justified, because Euthydemus did not take this epithet himself, but was given it after his death on the commemorative medals of Agathocles.[6] We agree with Prinsep[7] that there was some oriental influence in the adoption of this title, because it is not a normal Greek word of the period. Tetradrachms of this type are not yet known, and the drachms are also rare; probably the direct regency of Agathocleia did not last long. It must have been followed by an intermediate period, when coins bearing the conjugate busts of Agathocleia and the boy Strato and the names of both were issued;[8] the coin-legends show, however, that Agathocleia dropped her claim to be 'queen', merely adding her name after that of Strato on the obverse, or sometimes on both sides.[9] Probably this shows that Strato was approaching an age when he was impatient to assume complete power and authority, but the fact that Agathocleia's portrait still appears on the obverse

[1] *Supra*, p. 75.
[2] General Haughton has compiled a list of the coinage of Strato and of Strato and Agathocleia, cf. *NC*, 1948, pp. 134–41. But add to that *NC*, 1950, p. 216.
[3] *NC*, 1950, p. 216. Cf. Liddell and Scott (1925–40), vol. ii, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 2076.

In 1870 Lassen discovered that *θεότροπος* occurs in the Byzantine eighth-century author Heliodorus (*NC*, 1870, p. 218). The word occurs there in a philosophical passage with its normal meaning of 'god-like', 'divine'. Cf. Buck and Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago University Press, 1944), p. 393.
[4] *JASB*, 1836, p. 721. [5] *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 249.
[6] *Supra*, p. 51. [7] *JASB*, 1836, p. 721. [8] Pl. III. 1.
[9] *NC*, 1948, Pl. VIII. 2; *NC*, 1950, p. 215.

may indicate that he had not yet assumed full powers.[1] The coins of this type are also rare, and thus it seems that this state of affairs did not last for more than a year or two, either because Agathocleia died suddenly or because she resigned in favour of her son who was now of age.

Although Strato's money, broadly speaking, consists of only one type, it is remarkable for the variety of its legends and the variations and combinations of the main type.[2] His coins are not as numerous as one would expect from the long reign which is so evident from the internal evidence of his coins, but they are widely spread,[3] and this probably indicates that, at least for a time, he reigned over the larger part of Menander's dominions. Though Strato's coins prove that his reign was an exceptionally long and adventurous one, we have certainly no reason to think that it lasted continuously for seventy years, as was originally supposed by Rapson.[4] But Rapson admitted that Strato's reign might be reduced if Gardner's suggestion of the possibility of two Heliocles was accepted.[5] No doubt Strato lived to be at least seventy, if not seventy-five, but his was not a continuous reign, for his coinage indicates the vicissitudes of his career. To the best of our knowledge we do not find on his money a portrait which may link the middle-aged king of his 'Epiphanes' series with the aged portraits on the crude drachms and on the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II.[6] We believe, therefore, that Strato ruled for about thirty-five years, including the regency of Agathocleia, after which he was superseded for about fifteen years, if not more, by other kings, ultimately to re-establish his power in a very limited region of the easternmost part of his kingdom, when he probably took advantage of the discomfiture of his adversaries at the hands of the newly arrived Śakas. We may guess that in the re-establishment of his power he was helped by Maues, who perhaps supported the cause of Strato against Apollodotus.[7] This phase of Strato's reign may have lasted for about five years; thus the first period of Strato's reign was from *c*. 130 to 95 B.C., and the second from *c*. 80 to 75 B.C.

[1] Haughton, op. cit., p. 137.
[2] Ibid., pp. 138–41. [3] Cf. chart, *supra*, p. 104.
[4] *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 245 ff.
[5] Ibid., fn. 1.
[6] See Pl. III (old age busts are enlarged); also Haughton, *NC*, 1948, Pls. VIII and IX.
[7] *Infra*, p. 146.

The unsettled state of affairs in Menander's realm after his death, the rule of a woman, and the existence of a minor son perhaps impatient to rule, may well have led to the break-up of the kingdom by internal dissension and attacks from without. Thus the period of Agathocleia's regency and the beginning of Strato's own reign may have seen some defections and loss of territory. The existence of several kings probably of other families at about the same time shows with practical certainty that Strato's kingdom gradually diminished even in the first period of his reign. To this period we have already assigned the extension of the power of Archebius and Heliocles II into his territories;[1] several other kings also must have been the contemporaries of his exceptionally long but chequered reign.

Among the sub-kings of Menander it seems more than likely that Antimachus II Nicephorus[2] outlived his master, since he struck a large number of coins which seem almost out of all proportion to his position; this is not so in the case of other sub-kings, the existence of whom we have suggested earlier. Perhaps the able and vigorous sub-king would not submit to the regency of Agathocleia and declared himself independent in the distant province of northern Arachosia, where he was probably transferred by the queen mother from the Swat valley, which was close to the centre of Strato's kingdom and where he would have been dangerous. This explains why his coins, which are found in considerable number in both the Bajaur hoards,[3] are also numerous in the Mir Zakah Treasure.[4] They are not generally found in the Kabul valley, but some are reported from near Charsadda; this may indicate an extension of the power of Antimachus II in western Gandhāra. But a man who had already spent the prime of his life under the long-lived Menander probably did not enjoy his new status for long, and so he may have died *c.* 125 B.C.; unfortunately there are no coin-portraits by which to check his age.

Philoxenus, Nicias, and Hippostratus form one group with Antimachus II because of their distinctive coin-type.[5] They are

[1] *Supra*, pp. 108–10. [2] *Supra*, pp. 95–96.

[3] *NS* XL (1926–7), 18–21; *NC*, 1947, pp. 141–5.

[4] Schlumberger, p. 78.

[5] 'King on horse'; cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, pp. 22–23, 28–29 for the coin-types. It is interesting to find a coin of Menander with this 'king on horse' type Pl. II. 8) which has been ignored. This coin-type links the group of kings headed by Antimachus II to Menander.

described in the above order both by Gardner[1] and Whitehead;[2] this seems to be correct. Antimachus II and Philoxenus are associated by frequent use of common monograms , and Philoxenus and Nicias by . Nicias is further connected with Hippostratus by the common use of another coin type, the dolphin.[3] Hippostratus was undoubtedly the last in this group of kings, because his coins were overstruck by the Śaka and Pahlava kings, and some of his monograms immediately link him with Azes.[4] Some scholars have suggested on the basis of the palaeography of the coin-legends that Nicias preceded Hippostratus, for the former uses both the square and round forms of Greek letters while the latter uses only the square.[5] Though from this kind of evidence we may be justified in deducing the sequence of two kings and place some kings in roughly the same period or in a particular region, we shall show later that no conclusion on the dating of the Indo-Greeks can be safely made on the basis of palaeographical differences alone.[6]

We do not know whether Philoxenus immediately succeeded Antimachus II in northern Arachosia, for this was also the time when, as we have shown above, Archebius had occupied the Kabul and Ghazni regions and possibly parts of western Gandhāra. But we have also seen that, whereas both Archebius and Heliocles II overstruck the money of Strato, only the latter overstruck a coin which was probably of Philoxenus.[7] So Philoxenus cannot be later than Heliocles II; they may have been contemporaries and overlapped each other in time and place. The fact that the coins of Heliocles II are comparatively rare in the Mir Zakah hoard as against those of Philoxenus may indicate that in northern Arachosia Archebius was not succeeded by his uncle Heliocles II, but by Philoxenus. This would imply that Archebius, who had taken possession of that region from Antimachus II, had later to abandon it to Philoxenus, a successor of Antimachus II. The money of Philoxenus is, however, found over a large area, and its distribution

[1] *BMC*, pp. 55–60, Pls. XIII. 3, 6–8, 11, XIV. 2–5.

[2] *PMC*, pp. 70–77, Pls. VII. 557, 576–8, 602, VIII. 610, 614–17.

[3] Cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, pp. 28–29.

[4] *Infra*, p. 152.

[5] Tarn, p. 327; Bachhofer (*JAOS*, 1941, pp. 236–7) thought that Nicias succeeded Hippostratus. Cf. Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 209.

[6] *Infra*, pp. 157–9.

[7] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 189; cf. *supra*, p. 109.

indicates that at times he must have controlled parts of the Kabul valley, western Gandhāra, and Taxila also, though perhaps for a very short time. The discovery of the Attic tetradrachms of Philoxenus is a further pointer to his struggle with Archebius and Heliocles II, for it is significant that no Attic tetradrachms of Heliocles II have been reported. It is possible that Philoxenus overthrew Archebius but was himself later overthrown by Heliocles II. This phase seems to cover roughly one generation, and on this assumption Philoxenus must have died *c.* 115 B.C.; thus, in the period 130–115 B.C. we have placed Archebius and Heliocles II on the one hand, and Antimachus II and Philoxenus on the other, in both of which groups one of the kings was young enough at the time of his accession to rule for a long period.

Nicias and Hippostratus will be discussed later in the appropriate places,[1] for it is difficult to place them in the immediately succeeding generation of family struggles, and they are rather connected with a still later phase of the history of the Indo-Greeks.

We must consider here, before we come to Antialcidas, a small group of kings consisting of Zoilus I, Lysias, and Theophilus. It has been suggested earlier that they may have had some connexions with the family of Euthydemus, because of the Heracles type of their coins.[2] It is true that on grounds of style and fabric it can be argued that the coins of Zoilus Dikaios and those of Zoilus Soter are the coins of one and the same king struck in different regions; and on the basis of the geographical distribution of their coins it would be safe to place Zoilus Dikaios west of the Indus and Zoilus Soter to the east.[3] But the matter does not end here, for the difference in types and titles cannot be ignored, especially when a remarkable difference in style is unanimously recognized. We are therefore inclined to support Tarn[4] in accepting Martin's suggestion of two Zoili, Zoilus Dikaios as the first and Zoilus Soter as the second.[5]

[1] *Infra*, pp. 148 ff.
[2] *Supra*, p. 102.
[3] Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 209; also *NC*, 1923, p. 308; *NC*, 1940, pp. 111–12; *NC*, 1947, p. 45. Both *BMC* (p. 52) and *PMC* (pp. 65 ff.) have not distinguished between the two.
[4] Tarn, pp. 319–20; cf. also Kozolubski, *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 1953, pp. 318–19.
[5] M. F. C. Martin, *NS* xl. 19. Tarn, p. 320, suggested that Zoilus Soter was a descendant—presumably a grandson—of Zoilus I, but, as we shall see later, we have placed him among the successors of Apollodotus.

The standing Heracles on the coins of Zoilus I is very similar to that used by Euthydemus II;[1] Heracles is not crowning himself, as on the money of Demetrius I or Lysias,[2] but holding out a wreath; this pose, as we have remarked,[3] is not very usual on Greek coins. Like Euthydemus II, he also seems to have been a sub-king. Tarn thought him to be 'one of the missing sub-kings of Menander, whom he evidently survived'.[4] Marshall thought him to be a sub-king of Menander and Strato I in Arachosia.[5] Cunningham had also supposed that Zoilus (he did not distinguish two Zoili) may have become tributary to Menander.[6] The composition of the Bajaur hoards is significant; only four kings are there represented, Menander, Antimachus II, Zoilus I, and Apollodotus.[7] We suggest that in the Swat valley they ruled in this order; it is possible that Zoilus I was appointed sub-king of the Swat valley after Agathocleia in the period of her regency had transferred Antimachus II to Arachosia.[8] Zoilus I may have been related to Agathocleia, for both used Heracles on their coins,[9] and it is generally believed that the latter type belonged to the family of Demetrius I,[10] so naturally she may have had confidence in Zoilus I in that unsettled period to which we have already referred.[11] It is likely that Zoilus I was a sub-king first of Arachosia and later of the Swat valley, which will explain the presence of his coins in the Mir Zakah Treasure;[12] his coins are not generally found in the Kabul valley,[13] but are noticed in western Gandhāra.[14] The fact that the coins of Zoilus I are very few in number in the Bajaur hoards and in the Mir Zakah Treasure as against those of Antimachus II and Apollodotus would indicate that he did not govern for any considerable period. The copper type of Zoilus I, which is very rare, has the head of Heracles in a lion's skin on the obverse and club and bow-case within ivy-wreath on the reverse.[15]

Lysias seems to have belonged to the group of Zoilus I.[16] It was

[1] Cf. *PMC*, Pls. I. 27 and VII. 525; *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 7.
[2] Cf. *PMC*, Pls. I. 18 and III. 150.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 22–23.
[4] Tarn, p. 319.
[5] *Taxila*, i. 34.
[6] *CASE*, p. 240.
[7] *NS*, xl. 18–21; *JNSI*, 1942, p. 61, *NC*, 1947, pp. 141–5.
[8] *Supra*, pp. 96, 112.
[9] For Agathocleia cf. *PMC*, Pl. V. 370.
[10] Cf. *supra*, p. 102.
[11] Cf. *supra*, p. 112.
[12] Schlumberger, p. 78.
[13] *CASE*, pp. 239–40.
[14] Haughton, *NC*, 1943, pp. 51, 58.
[15] *NC*, 1950, p. 218, Pl. XII. 10.
[16] Tarn, p. 314, has supposed Lysias to be a son of either Demetrius II or Agathocles, and thus a grandson of Demetrius I.

supposed that the existence of a solitary specimen of a coin with the name of Lysias on the obverse and of Antialcidas on the reverse[1] might offer some clue to their relative position.[2] This has usually been taken as a 'joint issue';[3] Tarn thought that this was the result of a treaty, and that it marked a *rapprochement* between the rival families of Euthydemus and Eucratides in view of the coming Śaka menace.[4] But doubts have been expressed on the so-called 'joint issue' of these two kings.[5] The piece exhibits a Lysias obverse and an Antialcidas reverse, and may very well be a 'mule'. The existence of a 'joint issue' of these two kings could only be confirmed by the discovery of further specimens. The type is not distinctive, and it is hard to explain why Lysias is placed on the obverse and Antialcidas on the reverse of the coin when both of them are given their full epithets in the legends.[6] In a period when the mints must have frequently passed from one king's possession to that of another such a 'mule' is quite possible. This seems more probable since there are other features on their coins to show that no great gap existed between them in time or place, and especially since there exists an overstrike of Antialcidas on Lysias,[7] which clearly indicates that Lysias was at least not later than Antialcidas. Both Lysias and Antialcidas wear similar head-dresses and use in common some characteristic monograms.[8] 'We do not require "joint-money" to postulate an association of Lysias with Antialcidas'.[9] On the other hand this overstrike, taken together with the following evidence, would positively indicate that Lysias was a contemporary of the preceding generation of kings. Apart from some quite common monograms like [monogram] [monogram] on the money of Heliocles II, Philoxenus, and Lysias, these three kings also use a distinctive double monogram, one constituent of which is common to all of them: Heliocles II has Σ [monogram], Philoxenus Σ [monogram], Σ [monogram], and

[1] *BMC*, p. 166, Pl. XXXI. 2, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[2] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 559; but he maintained that the Lysias type has no particular significance and is a mere local issue.

[3] Tarn, p. 314.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Whitehead, *NC*, 1947, pp. 32–33.

[6] Obv: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ. Rev: *Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amtialikitasa.*

[7] *PMC*, Pl. III. 172; *NC*, 1950, p. 210. It is an overstrike of Antialcidas on Lysias of type *PMC*, 150. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the form ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC is followed by ΑΝΙΚΕΤΟΥ half obliterated.

[8] [monogram], [monogram] Σ. Cf. *infra*, p. 122.

[9] Whitehead, *NC*, 1947, p. 32.

Lysias Σ [monogram].[1] Lysias and Philoxenus adopt the same epithet, 'Aniketos', and their coins are almost equally distributed in the Mir Zakah Treasure, the Kabul valley, and the Qunduz hoard. We cannot prove that Philoxenus and Lysias were in league against the family of Eucratides; but at least we may guess it from the fact that Heliocles II overstruck the money of Philoxenus, and Antialcidas that of Lysias,[2] and also from the presence of Attic tetradrachms of both Philoxenus and Lysias in the Qunduz hoard. Our guesses may be wrong, but the fact remains that in any case Lysias seems to have started on his career earlier than Antialcidas, and thus if his reign overlapped that of Antialcidas it should have ended in *c.* 110 B.C.[3] The coins of Lysias are comparatively rare in Gandhāra; though some coins have been reported from the Peshawar area, the number in the Taxila excavations is only three.[4] On his silver money Lysias is shown wearing all the types of head-dress, such as helmet, elephant-scalp, and flat 'kausia',[5] which were used by earlier Indo-Greek kings but were never before all used by one.

Theophilus is another king who probably belonged to the group of Zoilus I and Lysias, because of their common Heracles type.[6] The 'Heracles and club' used by Theophilus on his coins,[7] closely resemble the 'Heracles and club and bow-case' type of Zoilus I.[8] But on a copper coin there is a cornucopia,[9] and on his single Attic tetradrachm from the Qunduz hoard there is the unique type of a seated Pallas with Victory on her extended hand.[10] His coins are very rare, and except for the Attic tetradrachm of the Qunduz find it is difficult to establish their exact provenance with any certainty. Haughton reports that the specimens he knew of were brought from Rawalpindi[11] and Cunningham had noted that of the two

[1] *PMC*, p. 29, Nos. 146, 149; p. 30, Nos. 151, 154; p. 31, Nos. 157–61; p. 71, Nos. 577, 579; p. 72, Nos. 584–9.

[2] *CASE*, p. 189; *NC*, 1950, p. 210.

[3] We have supposed Antialcidas' reign from *c.* 115 to 100 B.C.; cf. *infra*, p. 122.

[4] Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 766–7.

[5] *PMC*, Pl. III, Nos. 150, 154, and 156.

[6] For long his silver drachm with Heracles in BM remained a unique specimen (*PMC*, Pl. IX. viii).

[7] *PMC*, p. 78, Pl. VIII. 634.

[8] *BMC*, p. 170, Pl. XXXII. 2; *NC*, 1950, Pl. XII. 10.

[9] *PMC*, p. 77, Pl. VIII. 632.

[10] Cf. Narain, *JNSI*, 1954, Pt. II, Pl. III. 1; Bivar, *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 3, Pl. VI. 5.

[11] *NC*, 1943, p. 58.

coins he knew, the silver was obtained at Rawalpindi and the copper at Sialkot.[1] Theophilus can have had only an ephemeral reign of a few months or at best a year. Cunningham may be right in his conjecture that he was a son of Lysias,[2] but it seems that he did not succeed Lysias immediately; we shall suggest later that he may have gained power after the death of Antialcidas.[3] The title *Autocrator* on his unique Attic tetradrachm is also unique in the coinage of the Indo-Greeks. We can only guess at its significance. Perhaps he was a sub-king or a younger son who broke his allegiance and set up an ephemeral independent kingdom.[4]

We have noted that in the region north of the Hindu Kush after Eucratides II there was a period when the family of Eucratides I suffered a decline. This period seems to have been over by *c.* 115 B.C., when Antialcidas in all likelihood retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. Apart from the well-known Attic tetradrachm and drachm of Antialcidas,[5] some new varieties have now been found in the Qunduz hoard.[6] There are ninety coins of his in the Mir Zakah Treasure,[7] and a considerable number have been noticed in the Kabul valley, western Gandhāra, and Taxila.[8] His money gives the impression that he was a prominent figure among the later Indo-Greek kings, and that he succeeded for some time at least in controlling a considerable part of the kingdom, where, after the death of Menander, districts and provinces were rapidly passing from one hand to the other.

Antialcidas is the only Indo-Greek king other than Menander to be mentioned by name in an Indian source. An inscription engraved on a Garuḍa pillar found at Besnagar near Bhilsa[9] records the name of an inhabitant of Taxila, Heliodorus son of Dion, coming as an envoy from Antialcidas to the court of Kāśīputra (or Kosīputra) Bhāgabhadra, in the fourteenth year of the latter's reign.[10] This epigraph might well have helped us to ascertain the date

[1] *CASE*, p. 215.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cf. *infra*, p. 155.
[4] Cf. also *infra*, pp. 155–6.
[5] *BMC*, Pl. VII. 9; *CASE*, Pl. VIII. 6 (for drachm).
[6] Cf. *NNM* (*NSI*), No. 1, pp. 25–26 and ibid., No. 3.
[7] Schlumberger, p. 76.
[8] Cf. the chart, *supra*, p. 104.
[9] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 90. See Pl. VI. 3.
[10] . . . *Heliodoreṇa bhāgavatena Diyasa putreṇā Takhkhasilākena Yoṇa-dūtena (ā)gatena mahārājasa Aṁtalikitasa upa(ṁ)tā sakāsaṃ raño (Ko)sipu(tra)sa (Bh)āgabhadrasa trātārasa vasena ca(tu)dasena rājena vadhamānasa. . . .* Cf. Pl. VI. 2.

of Antialcidas but for the uncertainty of the identification of Bhāgabhadra. His identification with Bhāga or Bhāgavata,[1] the ninth Śuṅga king according to the *Purāṇas*, would place the inscription in *c.* 100 B.C.,[2] which would mean that the embassy was sent towards the end of Antialcidas' reign, if this started in *c.* 115 B.C. But the discovery of a second Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king Bhāgavata[3] has led some scholars to doubt this identification. It has been suggested that Bhāgabhadra should be identified with the fifth king of the Śuṅga dynasty, who is variously named as Odraka, Andhraka, or Bhadraka, and who may have reigned according to the Purāṇic chronology from *c.* 123 B.C.[4] But there seems to be no more reason to identify Bhāgabhadra with Odraka, the fifth Śuṅga king, than with Bhāga, the ninth. Firstly, the name as given in most texts is Odraka or Andhraka,[5] and, secondly, whatever may be the name of the fifth king, he is credited a reign of either two or seven years,[6] whereas the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year. Bhāgavata, on the other hand, according to the *Purāṇas* reigned for thirty-two years. It seems very probable that Bhāgavata and Bhāgabhadra of the two inscriptions found at Besnagar, referring to the twelfth and fourteenth regnal years respectively, are identical.[7] And since the ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty is also known as Bhāga or Bhāgavata, and Vidiśā—the Besnagar region—is known to have been in the possession of the later Śuṅgas, the identification of the king of the Besnagar inscription with the ninth Śuṅga king of the *Purāṇas* is almost certain.[8] But whoever he may have been he was certainly a powerful king to whom Antialcidas sent an envoy towards the end of his reign, when, as we shall see below, he had lost

[1] *CHI*, pp. 521–2.
[2] Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 32, 70. Bhāgavata (Samābhāga) reigned for thirty-two years.
[3] *ASR*, 1913–14, p. 190; *MASI*, No. 5. p. 152.
[4] Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 393–4; R. K. Mookerjee, *AIU*, p. 98; Sircar, *AIU*, p. 116.
[5] Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 30–33, 70; *CHI*, p. 518.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *CHI*, p. 522. It was noticed by Rapson that there was another inscription at Besnagar dated in the twelfth regnal year of a Bhāgavata, yet he favoured the identification of Bhāgabhadra with the ninth Śuṅga king.
[8] But it is strange that none of the Śuṅga kings are known to have used metronymics as did Bhāgabhadra, who is called Kāśīputra or Kosīputra (Kautsīputra), although the use of metronymics was common during this period all over India. Might we suggest that Bhāgabhadra = Bhāgavata was a local king?

a considerable portion of his kingdom to Apollodotus and needed an ally. But again we are left guessing as to what happened as the result of this alliance, if it had any political significance. Antialcidas must have possessed Taxila at the time, but the Besnagar inscription does not prove that it was his capital, because it is mentioned therein only as the home of the envoy Heliodorus son of Dion and not as the capital of Antialcidas. This inscription suggests that other Indo-Greek kings also had friendly relations with the Indian powers; Menander probably had some contact with the Mitra kings.[1] Incidentally the column shows that a Greek might become a follower of the Bhāgavata sect of Hinduism, and that Buddhism was not the only religion which would accept him. A matter of significance is the title *Trātāra*, equivalent to the Greek 'Soter', given to Bhāgabhadra in the inscription. This is an unusual epithet to be adopted by an Indian king, and must have been given him by Heliodorus, in the inscription which was engraved at his instance. But we do not know why he chose the epithet *Trātāra*, which means 'the Saviour', for Bhāgabhadra, especially when this title was not adopted either by Antialcidas or by his immediate predecessors.[2] It seems that Antialcidas fell on evil days towards the end of his career, when almost all his territory west of the Indus was lost to Apollodotus[3] and his power was confined to Taxila, and when to the east of the Jhelum Strato was ruling in the Jammu-Sialkot region;[4] and therefore he sought help of Bhāgabhadra to strengthen his position. But Antialcidas soon lost Taxila also to Apollodotus; either Bhāgabhadra did not help him or his help was of no avail.

The main type of Antialcidas' coinage, consisting of the enthroned Zeus Nicephorus and a small elephant in different poses,[5] can no longer be connected with the enthroned deity of the 'Kaviṣiye-nagara' coin of a certain Eucratides, because we have shown that the deity is not Zeus and we are doubtful whether the coin in question belonged to Eucratides I at all.[6] But Zeus had been adopted by the successors of Eucratides I, Archebius, and both

[1] *Supra*, pp. 87–88.

[2] The epithet of Antialcidas was 'Nicephorus' (*Jayadhara*), that of Heliocles II, 'Dikaios' (*Dhramika*), and of Archebius, 'Dikaios' and 'Nicephorus'.

[3] *Infra*, p. 126.

[4] *Supra*, p. 111; *infra*, pp. 126–7.

[5] *PMC*, pp. 32–36.

[6] *Supra* pp. 62–64; *infra*, pp. 123–4.

the Heliocles as the chief deity on their money. Antialcidas, however, started a new departure in depicting Zeus as seated on a throne and carrying Nike, instead of standing with the thunderbolt,[1] probably in allusion to his epithet Nicephorus. His mint-masters experimented with many pleasing and artistic variations of the composite type of Zeus, Nike, and elephant.[2] Sometimes the Nike in the extended hand of Zeus is holding a wreath,[3] sometimes the wreath is held by the elephant in his upraised trunk,[4] and sometimes both hold wreaths.[5] Sometimes the elephant is shown as advancing towards the Nike as if to take the wreath,[6] sometimes he is shown returning in the opposite direction,[7] and on some coins he is walking with Nike at his head and Zeus standing by his side.[8] On a few specimens there is no Nike at all, but only a wreath and palm in the hand of Zeus and a very tiny elephant shown vertically with his trunk upwards.[9] The variations of this composite type led scholars to propound an ingenious theory that it offers a picture of conflict between two rival parties, the elephant representing one and Zeus the other.[10] We, however, fail to understand the cogency of this theory. If a conflict between two rival parties is depicted on the coins of Antialcidas it is not clear whether Zeus or the elephant should be considered to represent Antialcidas himself. If the elephant represented the opposite party, as is usually suggested, why should Antialcidas himself announce his defeat on his own money? Or, if Zeus represented the opposite party, why should Antialcidas accept him seated enthroned as the main type of his coins? Neither of the alternatives justifies the theory of a struggle between Antialcidas and his rival, who is generally believed to be Lysias, though we have shown that the existence of an overstrike indicates that Antialcidas succeeded Lysias. Moreover, it is strange that the mint-master should have had recourse to this unique

[1] Enthroned Zeus occurs on a coin generally ascribed to Heliocles I; cf. *CASE*, Pl. VI. 9.

[2] Pl. IV. 1–4.

[3] *PMC*, Pl. III. 170, 172, 189. The elephant is not advancing to snatch it away, but stands by the side of the throne as if returning.

[4] *CASE*, Pl. VIII. 6.

[5] *BMC*, Pl. VII, 14. Both General Haughton and H. de S. Shortt have a fine specimen of this variety.

[6] *BMC*, Pl. VII. 12. But clearly there is sometimes no attempt at snatching the wreath, e.g. Pl. VII. 9.

[7] *BMC*, Pl. VII. 13.

[8] *NC*, 1947, Pl. I. 5; *NC*, 1923, Pl. XV. 5.

[9] *BMC*, VII. 10. H. de S. Shortt also has a specimen.

[10] Tarn, pp. 314–15; also *NC*, 1923, pp. 325–6.

method of showing the struggle on the coins of Antialcidas, when we do not notice its counterpart on the coins of his hypothetical opponent. On the other hand, the elephant is associated with the deity on the 'Kaviṣiye nagara' type of a certain Eucratides[1] and on a coin of Zoilus II with Apollo.[2] In fact the elephant was also the *vāhana* of Indra. As the Iranian Mithra and Zeus are often confused on Indo-Greek money, might we suggest that Antialcidas' type represents a Greek god with attributes borrowed from Indian mythology, or even an Indian god depicted in Greek style?[3] The elephant is so common on Indo-Greek coins that it is hardly possible to give much importance to it. We believe that the composite type of Antialcidas is only the result of artistic experiments and variations.

The monograms [monogram], [monogram] Σ, [monogram], [monogram] on the coins of Antialcidas connect him in time and place with Lysias, and [monogram] and the very distinctive [monogram] with Apollodotus.[4] We have shown that Antialcidas succeeded Lysias in some regions of north-west India, and we shall show below that Apollodotus deprived Antialcidas of a considerable part of his kingdom. On the testimony of his coins we assign Antialcidas a reign of some fifteen years, and thus he must have died soon after *c.* 100 B.C. The remaining kings of this group, Telephus, Amyntas, and Hermaeus, we shall discuss in the next chapter.

In our opinion Apollodotus and Strato belong to the same group.[5] We do not know their relationship but they may have been brothers. Probably Apollodotus was a younger brother of Strato I.[6]

We have shown earlier that we have hardly any evidence to suppose the existence of an Apollodotus I, except the so-called

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 62–64.
[2] *BMC*, Pl. XII. 12; *PMC*, Pl. VII. 545. It is interesting to note that an elephant holds a wreath on a coin of Maues; cf. *BMC*, p. 71, Pl. XVII. 5; *PMC*, Pl. X. 31; and in another type also, *PMC*, Pl. X. 32.
[3] J. N. Banerjea called the enthroned deity with elephant on the 'Kaviṣiye nagara' coin Indra (*IHQ*, 1938, pp. 295 ff.).
[4] There is a copper coin of Antialcidas in BM (*ex* Major Landon) which has [monogram], and cf.also *PMC*, No. 212, which has [monogram]. For Apollodotus, cf. *BMC*, pp. 34–35.
[5] *Supra*, p. 102.
[6] He cannot have been an elder brother, because Strato, the heir-apparent and presumably the eldest son of Menander, was a minor at the death of his father. Our assumption that Apollodotus was a younger brother of Strato I gives him time to come to power later.

Eucratides overstrike on an Apollodotus coin.[1] But Cunningham, who first illustrated and discussed this overstrike, called it 'a late coin of Eucratides struck upon Apollodotus', and thought the latter to be a son of Eucratides I.[2] Thus he considered it likely that Apollodotus did not precede him, in spite of the overstruck piece. von Sallet referred to a piece of Antialcidas overstruck by Eucratides,[3] but unfortunately it is not illustrated, and Dr. Whitehead informs us that he omitted to verify it when he visited the Berlin Museum. On the other hand, Gardner mentioned this coin without any question,[4] and, while considering the two overstrikes, i.e. one on Apollodotus and the other on Antialcidas, remarked also that 'it has been doubted whether these coins of Eucratides were really issued during his life-time'.[5] If there is any truth in what we have noted above we might well be led to accept the existence of an Eucratides III, which is, indeed, not a very welcome proposition, but, nevertheless, worth considering. The 'Kaviṣiye-nagara' coins are very rare; only five specimens are in the British Museum, and a few elsewhere. The monogram, which was not very clear in the British Museum and Punjab Museum catalogues, is now known from a better-preserved specimen and is illustrated by us.[6] This monogram [monogram] is, as far as we know, found elsewhere on the coins of Hermaeus,[7] and is certainly out of place in the period of Eucratides I; in fact the occurrence of this monogram is a certain indication of a date long after Eucratides I. The type of this coin, which has been shown by Whitehead to be not Zeus but a city-goddess,[8] seems to be closer in time to later Indo-Greek kings such as Hippostratus and to the Śaka king Maues, and it is rash to rely on the obverse portrait of a few copper coins for the identification of the overstriker of Apollodotus' coin with Eucratides I. Portraits on the copper coins are not generally considered as evidence, owing to their crudity. Even if the portrait does resemble Eucratides I, it may be accounted for on the assumption that a late Indo-Greek

[1] *Supra*, p. 64.
[2] *CASE*, p. 230.
[3] von Sallet, p. 100.
[4] *BMC*, p. xxxv.
[5] Ibid.
[6] We illustrate an enlarged print of the BM coin which was published by Whitehead in *NC*, 1947, p. 30. See Pl. IV. 8.
[7] *BMC*, p. 62, No. 3; *PMC*, Pl. IX. 649. We must note that there are several other *similar* monograms, which occur commonly on the coins of Apollodotus and Hermaeus but are generally not found on the money of earlier kings. But cf. *ANS Museum Notes*, III, p. 37.
[8] Cf. *supra*, pp. 62–64.

king Eucratides temporarily occupied Kāpiśī when Antialcidas' power was declining or when, towards the end of Apollodotus' reign, parts of the kingdom may have been ruled by ephemeral petty kings; this Eucratides, who could not establish himself for any length of time, may have issued coins on the pattern of his illustrious namesake and have overstruck the coins of both Apollodotus and Antialcidas. If we accept the existence of an Eucratides III, who may have been in some way related to Antialcidas, and thus have belonged to the family of Eucratides I, we would be inclined to assign to him the bilingual copper pieces which are numbered 87–129 in the Punjab Museum Catalogue's list of Eucratides' coins.[1] These coins generally bear the monograms, [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], which are unusual in the period of Eucratides I and are not found on the money of any Indo-Greek king either contemporary with or immediately linked with him in time and place. But, on the other hand, these monograms are very common in the period we are now discussing. The monogram [monogram] is especially common on the money of Apollodotus, Hippostratus, and Hermaeus. These coins also bear isolated Kharoṣṭhī letters,[2] a feature characteristic of later Indo-Greek coins. On some coins of this type, where usually the epithet *Μεγάλου* of Eucratides I is repeated, there is also the epithet *Σωτῆρος*, written as CωTHP - -,[3] and this again connects him with the period of the late Greek lettering found on the coins of Antialcidas, Apollodotus, and Nicias.[4] This hypothesis simplifies our problems, and there is no need to postulate an Apollodotus I.

There is nothing in the coins of Apollodotus to distinguish two kings of the same name. We have shown that the silver coins, including the square ones, belong to the so-called Apollodotus II.[5] Of the copper money, those round and square pieces which have Kharoṣṭhī monograms, are definitely of the later Apollodotus. The small uninscribed copper coins doubtfully ascribed to the so-called Apollodotus I by Gardner are now rightly arranged under Apollo-

[1] *PMC*, pp. 22–23 (cf. also *BMC*, pp. 16–17).

[2] *PMC*, e.g. Nos. 102, 120, 128.

[3] *PMC*, p. 27, unrepresented types, x.

[4] Antialcidas: *PMC*, p. 33, No. 172, which has BACIΛEωC; p. 36, No. 212 has ⊏ instead of Σ. Apollodotus: *PMC*, p. 41, Nos. 246–8, which bears C and ω as monograms, and *NC*, 1923, 313, fn. 23, mentions a coin of Apollodotus (II) in BM where Ͳ replaces T. Nicias' coins (*PMC*, pp. 73–74) bear, beside the normal letters, both the round and square forms, e.g. CωTHPOC, ⊏ШTHPO⊏. Cf. *infra*, p. 158.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 65–66.

dotus II in the British Museum. The unique round copper piece showing Apollo surrounded by a wreath, bearing the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, which was found with the coins of Hippostratus,[1] bears the monogram [monogram], which is commonly used by Apollodotus Philopator and Hippostratus. Of the square copper money attributed to Apollodotus I by Gardner in the *British Museum Catalogue*, eight specimens (Nos. 31–38) are allied rather to the definite copper issues of his Apollodotus II than to those of his Apollodotus I, because of their typical tripod and bow and their cruder workmanship. Of the remaining coins some have monograms only on one side and others on both; sometimes more than one monogram occurs on each side. And we have shown that the monograms on the coins of the so-called Apollodotus I generally belong to the later period of Indo-Greek history rather than to the time of Eucratides I.[2] There is hardly any other means of distinguishing the copper money of the hypothetical Apollodotus I from that of the later king of the same name. There is one title—'Soter', and one type, Apollo; the difference in the arrangement of the inscription alone is an unsafe criterion for such purposes. Gardner realized the difficulty of separating the two issues on a regional basis, but quoted Cunningham to the effect that Philopator coins are found only in the Punjab and north-west India, while the others are found over a much wider area, including the upper Kabul valley, Kandahar, and Sind.[3] But this division overlaps, and later discoveries have proved it to be wrong. We do not know of any Indo-Greek coin-find in Sind, but the southernmost find in the Punjab was near Amarkot, in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan,[4] and it contained, among other issues of Apollodotus, the Philopator coins.[5] The Amarkot hoard consisted of coins of Apollodotus only, and this fact much strengthens the probability that there was only one Apollodotus, for had there been two kings of the same name separated by a long gap of time we should expect some coins of the intervening king or kings in the hoard. The recent discovery of the Mir Zakah

[1] Haughton, *NC*, 1947, p. 144.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 65–66, 124.

[3] *BMC*, p. xxxvii; *CASE*, p. 229–30, yet Cunningham did not distinguish two Apollodoti.

[4] *NS* xi (1909), 307–9.

[5] We must also note that the titles 'Soter' and 'Philopator' sometimes occur on the same coin (*PMC*, p. 48) and the additional epithets 'Philopator' and 'Megas' are confined to the Greek legends only, while the Kharoṣṭhī legends invariably have the title *Trātāra* (= 'Soter').

hoard near Ghazni also contains Philopator coins.[1] It seems, therefore, from the numismatic evidence alone, that we need not assume two Apollodoti.

The coins of Apollodotus which bear his portrait are strikingly similar in style to those of Hippostratus, and they bear the monogram [monogram] in common,[2] whereas the square silver money is similar to the square silver coins of Philoxenus, and bears the monograms [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], and especially [monogram], in common with Antialcidas. The abundance of Apollodotus' coinage certainly indicates a long reign and wide influence. It seems that he first minted coins as sub-king or more probably as joint-king with Strato I. The latter, who undoubtedly had a long career, does not seem from his coinage to have exercised his influence so widely as Apollodotus. It is possible that Apollodotus was an effective joint-ruler, who first managed to recover most of the western regions of Strato's kingdom from kings of the other families, and ultimately gathered so much strength that he was virtually the sole sovereign, while Strato was satisfied with having grandiloquent titles such as 'Epiphanes'. Apollodotus was thus rightly the 'Soter' of Strato's kingdom. Soon his ambitions may have led him to become independent of Strato and to consider himself 'Philopator' because he retrieved the declining fortune of Menander's kingdom. In fact next to Menander in popularity must have been the able Apollodotus Megas Soter Philopator, who was probably Menander's son.

Apollodotus seems to have begun his career at about the same time as Antialcidas and after the reign of Philoxenus and his contemporary kings, i.e. about 115 B.C.; on the basis of his coinage he may be assigned a reign of at least twenty years, including his career as joint-king; thus he ruled until *c.* 95 B.C., and outlived Antialcidas. He must have started on his career in the Swat valley, where in the two Bajaur hoards his coins are next to those of Menander in number, and gradually increased his power and spread his influence in western Gandhāra, the Kabul valley, and the Ghazni region. In the latter area the Mir Zakah Treasure contains 596 coins of Apollodotus, including the Philopator coins. Finally, about 100 B.C., he overthrew Antialcidas in Taxila.[3] Probably after this event Apollodotus became completely independent and his elder brother was soon set aside as incompetent to rule. For a time Apollodotus must have ruled over almost the entire kingdom of Menander. It is only after his death that the last phase of Indo-Greek history begins.

[1] Schlumberger, pp. 76–77.

[2] *BMC*, cf. Pls. X. 1–4, XIV. 1–5. Also Pl. IV. 6–7.

[3] According to Marshall 58 coins of Apollodotus II and only one of the so-called Apollodotus I were found in Taxila; cf. *Taxila*, ii. 766–7. Thus 59 coins of Apollodotus were found as against 15 of Antialcidas.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF THE INDO-GREEKS

We have seen that, after the death of Menander, the Indo-Greek 'kingdoms' were controlled by several families, with inevitable wars and alliances between them. Naturally, therefore, the fall of one Indo-Greek 'kingdom' did not mean the fall of the other, and they were not destroyed simultaneously. Moreover, as we shall show below, their fall was not the result of attack by a single power.

We quote at length the passages from the literary sources which are of primary importance. Describing the situation east of the Caspian Sea, Strabo says:[1]

Now the greater part of the Scythians, beginning at the Caspian Sea, are called Däae, but those who are situated more to the East than these are named Massagetae and Sacae, whereas all the rest are given the general name of the Scythians, though each people is given a separate name of its own. They are all for the most part nomads. But the best-known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae.[2] And as for the Däae, some of them are called Aparni, some Xanthii, and some Pissuri. Now of these the Aparni are situated closest to Hyrcania and

[1] Strabo, xi. 8. 2.

[2] *μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἄσιοι καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι, ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.*

This is one of the most discussed passages in Strabo, and some scholars (the latest, Sten Konow in *Festskrift til Prof. Olaf Broch*, pp. 80–81, 'The White Huns and Tokharian'), who insist on retaining a *καὶ* after *Σακάραυλοι*, which is found in the manuscripts, but which has been rightly cancelled both in the Teubner and Loeb editions of Strabo, needlessly confuse the import of this passage and try to bring in the Sacae. But without any prejudice to the historical discussions in question we believe that *καί* can be cancelled on principles of simple textual criticism, for it is quite easy for a writer who was writing *καὶ* after *Ἄσιοι, Πασιανοί*, and *Τόχαροι* to add one more after *Σακάραυλοι* by mistake.

Tarn also does not accept (p. 332) the view of Sten Konow, which includes the Śakas and argues for five nomad peoples instead of four (cf. *Symbolae Osloenses*, xxiv (1945) 148).

the part of the sea that borders on it, but the remainder extend even as far as the country that stretches parallel to Aria.

Later Strabo says,[1] 'The Sacae, however, made raids like those of the Cimmerians and Treres, some into the regions close to their own country, others into regions farther away. For instance they occupied Bactriana, and acquired possession of the best land in Armenia, which they left named after themselves—Sacasene . . .'.[2]

Trogus' *Prologues* say at one place,[3] 'In the affairs of Bactria how king Diodotus established his rule: then how, during his reign[4], the Scythian tribes Saraucae and Asiani seized Bactra and Sogdiani', and at another,[5] to quote the original, 'Reges Thocarorum Asiani, interitusque Sacaraucarum'.[6]

Among the Chinese sources, *Shih-chi*, the earliest, says:[7]

Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu, they moved far away. They passed (Ta-)Yüan and westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated. Finally they settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river. . . .

Ta-hsia, situated in the south of the Oxus river, is more than two thousand li to the south-west of Ta-Yüan. They are sedentary, and have walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-Yüan. They have had no great kings or chiefs, but some cities and towns had small chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilful in trade. When the Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and subjugated all the Ta-hsia. The population of Ta-hsia is approximately more than one million. Their capital is named Lan-shi ch'êng (or the walled city of Lan-shi).

[1] Strabo, xi. 8. 4.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 133.

[3] xli: *In Bactrianis autem rebus, ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est: deinde quo regnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos.*

[4] Trogus' *Prologues* are often disconnected sentences, and obviously there seems to be something missing here. *Deinde* followed by *quo* can hardly be correct. Either the name of a king is missing, or *quo* is a corruption of a king's name, or *deinde* should be deleted, unless of course the words are reversed to read *quo deinde*, meaning 'when afterwards (Diodotus) was reigning, &c.', but we have hardly any evidence for a Scythian attack in the reign of Diodotus.

[5] xlii.

[6] This can be translated as 'Asiani the kings of the Thocari, the annihilation of Sacaraucae'. This again is enigmatic, because it is not clear whether *Thocarorum* means the people or the country. Some scholars have favoured the reading *Cusani* in place of *Asiani*, suggesting *Cusani* to mean Kuṣāṇas.

[7] From Bk. 123. This and other passages from the Chinese sources used by us in this chapter have been very kindly translated for us by Professor K. Enoki and to him our acknowledgement is due. For other translations cf. Bibliography.

The *Ch'ien Han Shu* records:[1]

The Chi-pin kingdom. . . . In the north-west it borders Ta-Yüeh-chih, and in the south-west it borders Wu-i-san-li. Anciently, when Hsiung-nu beat the Ta-Yüeh-chih, the Ta-Yüeh-chih moved westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they ruled as kings, and the king (or royal family) of Sai moved southward as far as Chi-pin, which he controlled as their chief. Thus the population of the Sai were scattered and in some places they constituted several countries, (for instance) such countries as Hsiu-hsun and Chuan-tu, both of which are to the north-west of Su-lê (Kashgar); all originate from the Sai. . . .

The Ta-Yüeh-chih kingdom. (The King) resides at Ch'ien-shi ch'êng (or the walled city of Ch'ien-shi). . . The Ta-Yüeh-chih were originally a nomadic nation, which moved along with their herds. (In this respect) they had the same custom as the Hsiung-nu. . . . They lived originally between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. Mao tun shan-yu (of the Hsiung-nu) attacked them and defeated them and Lao-shang shan-yu killed the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chih. Thus the (Ta)-Yüeh-chih moved far away. Passing Ta-Yüan they went as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated, and settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river. . . .

The Ta-hsia had originally no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had their small chiefs. The people were weak and feared fighting. Therefore when the Ta-Yüeh-chih moved there, they subjugated them all, and both the Ta-Yüeh-chih and the Ta-hsia accept the order of the Chinese embassy sent by the Han court. There are five *hsi-hou*[2] viz., Hsiu-mi, with its capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi with its capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tsao; Hsi-tun with its capital Po-mo; and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu (Kabul). All of these belonged to the Ta-Yüeh-chih as their subjects.

The *Ch'ien Han Shu* further says:[3]

(The country of the Wu-sun) was originally occupied by the Sai. The Ta-Yüeh-chih, moving westward, defeated the Sai-wang (or king of the Sai), who was forced to flee. The king of the Sai went to the south and passed the Hsien-tu. The Ta-Yüeh-chih settled themselves in the country (of the Sai). Afterwards the Kun-mo (title of the king of Wu-Sun) of Wu-Sun attacked and defeated the Ta-Yüeh-chih. The Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, and subjugated the Ta-hsia. The Kun-mo of Wu-Sun settled himself there (in the country of the Ta-Yüeh-

[1] Bk. 96 *a*.

[2] The term *hsi-hou*, connected by some with the title *yabgu* 'chief', taken by Kujūla Kadphises, seems to imply indiscriminately 'clan' or 'chief of a clan'.

[3] Bk. 94 *b*.

chih). Therefore it is said that there are elements of Sai population and that of Ta-Yüeh-chih among the subjects of Wu-Sun.

The *Hou Han Shu* reports:

The country of Ta-Yüeh-chih is situated at Lan-shih Ch'êng, which is at a distance of 49 days' travel from An-hsi (Parthia) in the West, 6357 li from the station of the (Chinese) High Commissioner (Liu-chung, i.e. Lukchun in the southern part of Turfan basin) in the East, and 16370 li from Lo-yang (the Chinese capital). The total of families amounts to one hundred thousand, the population to four hundred thousand. Formerly, when the Yüeh-chih were destroyed by the Hsiung-nu, they migrated to Ta-hsia and divided the country among five *hsi-hou*, that is to say, Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Pa-tun, and Tu-mi. More than one hundred years had passed after that Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh, *hsi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, having attacked and destroyed (the other) four *hsi-hou*, became independent and set himself on the throne. (His) kingdom was called Kuei-shuang-wang (i.e. king of Kuei-shuang). He invaded An-hsi (Parthia) and took the district of Kao-fu. (He) also destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin, both of which were completely subjugated to him. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh died at the age of more than eighty. Yen-kao-chên became king in succession. He also destroyed T'ien-chu (India), where he stationed a general to supervise and govern. Since then the Yüeh-chih are most rich and prosperous. (All the people of) many (other) countries call them Kuei-shuang-wang, but in China they are called Ta-Yüeh-chih according to their old designation.

Though the identification of the term Ta-hsia of the Chinese sources is controversial,[1] it has been ably shown that it denotes the Bactrians.[2] Thus the conquest of Bactria proper, or Ta-hsia, is ascribed by Strabo[3] to four nomadic peoples,[4] the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli; by Trogus to two such peoples, the Asiani and the Sacaraucae;[5] and by *all* the Chinese records to the Yüeh-chih.

[1] For different views: (i) Ta-hsia = Tochari or Tocharia: Marquart, *Ērānšahr* pp. 204–10; Chavannes, *Toung Pao*, viii. 187; Konow, cii, p. liv. (ii) Ta-hsia = Greeks: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 129; Herzfeld, *Sakastan*, p. 28. (iii) Ta-hsia = Dahae. Däae is transcribed as Ta-i in the *Shih-chi* (cf. Shiratori, *Sei'i Kishi Kenkyu*, i. 532, ii. p. 78).

[2] Tarn, pp. 295–8.

[3] Tarn (p. 284, fn. 4) thinks that there can be no possible doubt that Apollodorus is Strabo's source here, though he is not named.

[4] Sten Konow (*Symbolae Osloenses*, xxiv (1945), 148) has argued for five names, not four, the fifth being the *Sacae*, but Tarn (Addenda, p. 532) has rightly rejected this theory; cf. *supra*, p. 128.

[5] Trogus, xli.

Tarn thought that the Pasiani of Strabo's list were the Parsii,[1] but, on the other hand, if Vaillant's original emendation η ασιανοι instead of *Πασιανοὶ*, supported by Charpentier,[2] Haloun,[3] and Bachhofer,[4] is accepted, Strabo's list refers to only three tribes; and this makes the problem easier.[5] The Asii and Sacarauli of Strabo can be safely identified with Trogus' Asiani and Sacaraucae. There then remains only one unidentified tribe, the Tochari, who must surely be the Yüeh-chih of the Chinese reports. The identification of the Tochari of the western sources and the Yüeh-chih of the Chinese seems to us conclusive;[6] to discuss this identification in detail is outside the scope of our present work.

Of these three peoples, the Sacarauli or Sacaraucae were definitely a Scythian tribe, and the Asii or Asiani also seem to have been one of the tribes who were given the general name of the 'Scythians.'[7] Tarn, who first thought the Asii to be one of the two constituents of the Yüeh-chih—the other being the Tochari—expressed his doubts later.[8] Thus only the Tochari are to be certainly identified with the Yüeh-chih.

But whether the Tochari were also Scythians[9] must be doubted. The Yüeh-chih or Tochari were the enemies of the Sai (Śakas), whom they attacked on their trek westward, and according to Chinese sources they were a completely different people. That the Tochari spoke the Śaka language does not prove that they were Śakas; from language alone ethnic character cannot be safely deduced, for a barbarian conqueror may often adopt the language of the more civilized conquered people. The Yüeh-chih would naturally adopt the Śaka language because they settled in the regions where Śaka dialects were spoken and they were totally cut off from their original home. The confusion is partly due to a misunderstanding of Strabo's passages, as has rightly been pointed out

[1] Tarn, pp. 292 ff.
[2] *ZDMG*, 1917, pp. 366, 370.
[3] *ZDMG*, 1937, p. 244.
[4] *JAOS*, 1941, pp. 243–4.
[5] Altheim, i. 11, however, rejects it, though he disagrees with Tarn's explanation, ii. 100. Tarn has noticed this emendation in his Addenda, p. 534, but has nothing to say on it.
[6] Haloun, *ZDMG*, 1937, pp. 243–318; H. W. Bailey, *BSOS*, viii. 883 ff.; Tarn, pp. 283 ff.; O. Maenchen-Helfen, *JAOS*, 1945, pp. 71 ff. The identification Yüeh-chih = Tochari is further strengthened by H. W. Bailey in his recent paper in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 530 ff., cf. especially pp. 533–6.
[7] Strabo, xi. 8. 2: *τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δ' ὡς ἑκάστους.*
[8] Tarn, pp. 284, 533.
[9] Lohuizen, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 44–47.

by Tarn.[1] Strabo xi. 8. 4, a portion of which we have quoted earlier, says no doubt that Śakas occupied Bactria, 'but the most cursory perusal of the context shows that throughout the whole section he is talking, not of the second century B.C., but of a time long before that—he calls it Achaemenid, but it was actually the seventh century—the time of the great Saca invasion, well known from Assyrian sources, which had played its part in the fall of Nineveh and had penetrated as far as Armenia and Cappadocian Pontus.'[2] Strabo, in fact, confused two events widely separated in time, the conquest of Bactria from the Greeks and the much earlier conquest by the nomads in pre-Achaemenid times. This misunderstanding on the part of Strabo led to such confusion that even the Tochari of Strabo xi. 8. 2 have been considered to be a Śaka tribe. But a study of the whole section will show that Strabo is confused, as he himself admits.[3] He simply includes the Tochari among the nomads 'who took Bactriana from the Greeks', but he does not say that they were Śakas. He knew, of course, that the nomads who took Bactriana originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, and that they included not only the Scythian tribes but also the Tochari; naturally he could not distinguish between the Scythian and the non-Scythian because he was not aware of the earlier movements of the Tochari–Yüeh-chih. We shall see below that Strabo's evidence concerns only the last phase of the Yüeh-chih movement referred to by the Chinese sources.

Two stages of this movement are clear from the study of the Chinese reports.[4] The first, from Kan-Su to the Upper Ili, ending in 160 B.C., and the second from the region of the Upper Ili to Ta-hsia, ending in 129–128 B.C.[5]

[1] Tarn, p. 283.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Strabo, loc. cit.
[4] The chronology of the movements of these tribes has been thoroughly studied by K. Shiratori, J. Kuwabara, and T. Fujita. Haloun discussed their views in *ZDMG* (xci), 1937, pp. 247 ff. Cf. also Lohuizen, op. cit., pp. 32 ff.
[5] For the first period: K. Shiratori, *Sei'i Kishi Kenkyū*, i. 29 (174–158 B.C.) but later p. 60 (174–160 B.C.); T. Fujita, *Tōzai Kōshsōhi no Kenkyū* (*Sei'i Ki Len*), pp. 77–78 (172–160 B.C.); J. Kuwabara, *Tōzai Kōtsushi, Ronsō*, pp. 16–19 (172–161/60 B.C.).

For the second period: the starting date, Shiratori, op. cit., p. 31 (158 B.C.); Fujita, op. cit., pp. 83–84 (160/161 B.C.); Kuwabara, op. cit., pp. 28–29 (139 B.C. or a little after).

We have taken the end of the second period as 129–128 B.C., the date generally agreed for Chang Chien's visit to the Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia.

When the Yüeh-chih reached the Upper Ili they displaced the Sai (Śaka) people; some of the Sai princes (Sai-wang) moved south and ultimately reached Chi-pin. The Yüeh-chih, on the other hand, were soon attacked by the Wu-Sun, and hence they moved west beyond Ta-yüan to occupy Ta-hsia. It is important to note that the Chinese evidence is consistent and explicit in saying that the Sai moved to the south and the Yüeh-chih to the west; the two peoples did not travel in the same direction.

When the Yüeh-chih were forced to move from the Upper Ili to seek new lands towards the Oxus they must have displaced the tribes of the Jaxartes area who were of Scythian stock; it is clear from the Western classical sources that there were several peoples between the Caspian Sea and the Lake Issyk Kul who were known by the general name 'Scythian'. Two of them, the Sacarauli (Sacaraucae) and the Asiani, are mentioned with the Tochari (Yüeh-chih), and probably, therefore, were displaced by the second movement of the Tochari–Yüeh-chih. The Sacarauli (Sacaraucae) and the Asiani were no doubt the Scythian tribes who, as a result of their dispersal by the Yüeh-chih, disturbed the Parthian kingdom under Phraates II and Artabanus II during the period 138-124 B.C., until they were quelled and settled by Mithridates II.[1] Probably these Scythians settled in Sacastene (Seistan) where there may have been an earlier settlement of Scythians in the Achaemenid period;[2] but Seistan was then ruled by the Parthians.[3] There the Scythians and the Parthians mingled with each other, forming a composite people, whom we may call the Scytho-Parthians or the Pahlavas, and who took both Śaka and Pahlava names;[4] kings from Vonones to Gondophernes, who are connected by the numismatic evidence, seem to belong to one and the same Pahlava family.[5]

The Sai of the Upper Ili, mentioned in Chinese sources, were another Scythian tribe; they should not be confused with the Scythians of the Jaxartes valley or other areas west of them. Even

[1] Debevoise, op. cit., pp. 29, 37–38.

[2] For the theory of an earlier migration of Scythians to Sacastene cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 181 ff. But, in the light of the evidence, we do not agree with Thomas (op. cit., pp. 192 ff.) that a later settlement is improbable.

[3] Isidore, *Parthian Stations*, 18.

[4] F. W. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 204–14.

[5] The Vonones group of kings is associated with the Azes group through the Spalirises-Azes coins and the Azes group associated with the Gondophernes group through the Aspavarma coins.

the Western classical sources refer to the Sacae as distinguished from the other Scythian tribes;[1] Strabo explicitly refers to the Sacarauli and other peoples as coming from the country which 'adjoins that of the Sacae',[2] and therefore the Sacae must be different from the Sacarauli (Sacaraucae) or Asiani. They were, in fact, the easternmost Scythian people, known to the Chinese sources as *Sai*, which was then pronounced *Sok*.[3] The movement of these Sai (Sok = Sacae = Śaka) is quite distinct from that of their kinsfolk farther west.

When the Sai people were displaced by the Yüeh-chih the adventurous prince or princes (*wang*) of the Sai went south to seek new lands. Their destination, according to the Chinese source, was Chi-pin, the route to which was via Hien-tu, the 'Hanging Pass'. With the help of Fa-hsien's itinerary, the position of Hien-tu is defined as being on the Indus in a south-south-west direction from Kashgar, a little to the west of Skardo, and near the boundary of modern Dardistan.[4] But this name probably implied the gorge which extends for upwards of 100 miles from Skardo to Rongdo, and from Rongdo to Mak-pon-i-shang rong,[5] so that it is not possible to define the exact position of the Hien-tu with absolute accuracy. However, from the Upper Ili region to the Hanging Pass the route is clear. The Sai probably came via the Terek Pass to the Kashgar area, and thence, instead of turning left to Yarkand, we suggest they took the direct route to Tashkurgan, from which they proceeded via one of the northern passes to Gilgit[6] and thus reached the Hien-tu.

The Chinese sources tell us that the key to Chi-pin was the Hanging Pass. We would expect therefore that Chi-pin was not far from the Hanging Pass, probably to the south or south-east. The identification of Chi-pin is not yet finally settled, because in the different periods of Chinese history the term denoted different regions, though all these regions were contiguous to each other. According to Shiratori, Chi-pin denoted Gandhāra in the Han period, Kashmir in the time of the Six Dynasties, and Kāpiśa in

[1] Strabo, xi. 8. 2; Ptolemy, Bk. VI, chs. xiii-xiv. [2] Strabo, xi. 8. 2.

[3] Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris, 1923), No. 773, p. 233.

[4] Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Turkovölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 58.

[5] Cunningham, *Ladak*, pp. 88–89; Smith, *ZDMG*, 1907, p. 419.

[6] Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford), 1907, cf. the first two chapters, pp. 1–46.

the T'ang period.[1] But the earliest mention of Chi-pin is in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and we are concerned with the region it denoted in the period of the early Hans. Franke concluded that, while Chi-pin specially denotes Kashmir, the Śaka dominion included the north-western portion of the modern Kashmir and the area we have called the Swat valley; roughly this region would be that called Udyāna,[2] which was sometimes included in the geographical term Gandhāra. In the *Ch'ien Han Shu* Chi-pin is described as a fruit-growing country, famous for embroidery and other handicrafts.[3] It seems that, though Chi-pin later denoted the Kashmir valley and gradually became a geographical expression for the Kuṣāṇa empire in India, in our period it was roughly the Swat valley and the adjoining areas. The findspots of the coins and inscriptions of the earliest Śaka kings in India also suggest the same identification. The old view that Chi-pin was Kabul[4] does not seem probable, because the Chinese also knew the latter by the name Kao-fu.[5]

How the Śakas reached the Swat region and Gandhāra from the Hanging Pass is difficult to determine, but in such a region there cannot be much choice of roads, and it is reasonable to suppose that the invaders, like Fa-hsien later, passed into Udyāna and descended through the Swat valley to Gandhāra.[6] The Chinese sources do not tell us that the Sai actually crossed the Hanging Pass. If Chi-pin denoted the Kashmir valley when the *Ch'ien Han Shu* was written it might have been necessary for the Sai to cross it, but if, as we believe, the Chi-pin of this period lay farther west, there was probably no need to cross the pass. And, although some of the Sai may have done so, the bulk of the host must have taken the easiest road and therefore probably followed the route of Fa-hsien. The theory that this Śaka tribe travelled from the Upper Ili to Chi-pin via the Hanging Pass has often been rejected by scholars for no other reason than the alleged physical impassability of the route for a nomad tribe.[7] Apart from the fundamental generalization that nature has never deterred adventurous spirits, we have other reasons also to support our theory.

[1] Shiratori, op. cit., pp. 377–462.

[2] Franke, op. cit., pp. 58–59.

[3] Wylie, p. 35.

[4] Also supported and discussed in detail by Tarn, in Appendix 9, pp. 469–73. He found in Chi-pin the old name Ko-phen for Kabul. Cf. also Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 372.

[5] *Hou-Han Shu*, Bk. 88. Cf. *infra*, pp. 159–60.

[6] *ZDMG*, 1907, p. 419.

[7] F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 634 ff.

Linguistically the whole area from the Upper Ili to Hien-tu which the Sai traversed is considered to have been Śaka-speaking. Historically we know of two instances when Chi-pin and the northern and western regions of Kashmir were attacked from the north. In A.D. 445 Mu-li-yen, the chief of the Tu-yu-hun, who was antagonistic to the Topa Wei, broke into the country of Yu-tien, killed the king, and then attacked Chi-pin in the south.[1] Again, in the eighth century A.D., in the T'ang period, a Chinese army of 10,000 crossed the northern passes to occupy regions of north and west Kashmir.[2] Moreover, this was the general trade route in the later historical periods. The legend of Kustana, a son of Aśoka, founding a kingdom in Khotan,[3] also presupposes the crossing of northern passes. It is true that the Karakoram Pass is extremely difficult to negotiate, but that is not the pass in question. However, the movement of the Sai was probably not one long arduous and continuous march. It must have covered considerable time and been achieved by stages, for whatever chronology we accept it is quite certain that the earliest known date of a Śaka king in India[4] is at least several decades later than 160 B.C., when the Sai were forced to leave the Upper Ili. With the Indo-Greeks still occupying parts of Afghanistan and the Parthians under Mithridates I enjoying great power, it is impossible to imagine any migration from the Upper Ili to Chi-pin (whatever identification of the name we accept) via Bactria through hostile lands and peoples, especially when the Yüeh-chih were also to follow the same route. On the other hand, the direct southward movement was politically as well as physically feasible; it was not difficult for the Sai-wang to conquer and rule the agricultural and trading peoples of the areas which they traversed, who were of allied race and speech. The *Ch'ien Han Shu*, which tells us about the Sai migration, also notes at the same place, that 'thus the population of the Sai were scattered and in some places they constituted several countries; (for instance) such countries as Hsiu-hsun and Chuan-tu, both of

[1] *Wei-Shu*, Bk. 101. I owe this reference to Professor K. Enoki.

[2] Stein, *On Central Asian Tracks*, p. 42. Kao Hsien Chih in A.D. 747 successfully invaded the territories of Yasin and Gilgit. Stein believes that his army of 10,000, after starting from Kashgar and crossing the Pamirs, traversed the Bargohil and Darkot passes.

[3] *CHI*, p. 507.

[4] Cf. *infra*, pp. 144–5 for the date of Maues.

which are to the north-west of Su-lê (Kashgar), all originate from the Sai . . .'[1] Thus the Chinese sources very clearly indicate that the Sai-wang moved to Chi-pin by a direct southward route, and therefore we should not confuse their movement with the movement of other Scythian tribes such as the Sacaraucae of the Jaxartes–Oxus area.

The Sai of the Chinese annals, the Scytho-Parthians (i.e. other Scythians who had settled in Sacastene and who had intermixed with the Parthians), and the Yüeh-chih (Tochari), were thus the three peoples who overthrew the Indo-Greeks, attacking from different directions, in different regions, and at different times. And in them we find the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Tuṣāra-Kuṣāṇas[2] of the Indian sources.

It is essential to determine the chronology of these three peoples in so far as they concern the history of the Indo-Greeks. Especially important are the dates of the occupation of Bactria proper by the Yüeh-chih, the foundation of a new Pahlava power in Seistan by Vonones, and the establishment of the Saka kingdom in India by Maues.

It is usually believed that when Chang Ch'ien visited the Yüeh-chih in 129–128 B.C. they were masters of Ta-hsia (Bactria).[3] But an analysis of the Chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* of Ssu-ma-ch'ien, and a comparison of its accounts with the relevant passages in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and the *Hou Han Shu* give a clear impression that the complete political subjugation of Ta-hsia, Bactria south of the Oxus river, by the Yüeh-chih took place much later.

In the beginning of Chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* we are informed that Ch'ang Ch'ien was sent by the Chinese Emperor to the Yüeh-chih in order to induce the latter to enter into an alliance with the Chinese against the Hsiung-nu. But Ch'ang Ch'ien could not carry his point with them because they had 'subjugated' the Ta-hsia and had settled down to a life of peace. Then Ch'ang Ch'ien went to Ta-hsia and after one year returned to China. After this preamble Ssu-ma-ch'ien describes the several countries which

[1] *Supra*, p. 130. *Ch'ien Han Shu*, Bk. 96 *a*.

[2] If the Kuei-shuang are considered a part of the Yüeh-chih tribe, the Kuṣāṇas and the Tuṣāras should be taken together, one being part of the other. There are, however, scholars who do not take the five *hsi-hou* mentioned in the Chinese sources as belonging to the Yüeh-chih tribe, though to do so is clearly contrary to the explicit account of the Chinese annals.

[3] Lohuizen, op. cit., pp. 31–32.

Ch'ang Ch'ien visited, his account being chiefly based on the latter's report to the Chinese Emperor. Ta-Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia are described separately.

We are told that

the Ta-Yüeh-chih is situated about two or three thousand *li* westwards of Ta-yüan. (*It*) *is to the north of the Wei-shui* (*Oxus river*). *To the south* (*of it*) *is situated Ta-hsia*; to the west An-hsi; to the north K'ang-chu (Sogdiana). . . . Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu, they moved far away. They passed(Ta-) Yüan and went westward as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated. *Finally they settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river. . . .*

Then, after describing An-hsi (Parthia), Li-kan (Syria), and T'iau-chi (Chaldea), Ssu-ma-ch'ien turns to Ta-hsia:

Ta-hsia, situated in *the south of the Oxus river*, is more than 2000 li to the south-west of Ta-yüan. They are sedentary, have walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-Yüan. They have had no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had small chiefs. Their soldiers were weak and feared fighting. They were skilful in trade. When the Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and 'subjugated' all the Ta-hsia. The population of Ta-hsia is approximately more than one million. *Their capital is named Lan-shi Ch'êng* (*or walled city of Lan-shi*).

Later we are told that:

The Emperor (= Wu-ti) has already been informed that such countries as Ta-Yüan, Ta-hsia and An-hsi are all big countries, where one can find many rare things, and where people are sedentary and engaged in occupations very similar to those of the Middle Kingdom, are weak in military affairs, and make much of the things and treasures of the Han. (He also has heard that) to the north (of these countries) are situated Ta-Yüeh-chih and K'ang-chu which, though strong in their military power, could be bribed to be of service to the court (of the Han). . . .

The Chinese emperor therefore approved of Chang Ch'ien's proposal to send embassies to different countries. And later Ssu-ma-ch'ien informs us that '(Ch'ang) Ch'ien, therefore, dispatched vice-envoys separately to Ta-Yüan, K'ang-chu, Ta-Yüeh-chih, Ta-hsia, An-hsi, Shen-tu, Yu-tien, Han-shên, and many other countries'.

Ssu-ma-ch'ien is quite explicit that, although the Ta-Yüeh-chih had 'subjugated' the Ta-hsia, for all practical purposes the latter were independent. The royal court of the Ta-Yüeh-chih was north of the Oxus river; the Ta-hsia had their own capital and separate embassies could be sent them by foreign powers. It is clear that the Ta-hsia were not so thoroughly subjugated that the Ta-Yüeh-chih could establish their royal court south of the Oxus. It thus seems that the Ta-Yüeh-chih occupied only those parts of the Bactrian kingdom which lay north of the Oxus, but they had defeated the Ta-hsia without actually occupying their lands, and contented themselves for a time with the receipt of tribute.[1]

But the situation is quite different in the accounts of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* and the *Hou-Han Shu*. The former clearly says that the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chih resides at Ch'ien-shi Chêng (= Lan-shi Chêng), and the latter also notes that 'the country of Ta-Yüeh-chih is situated at Lan-shi Chêng . . .'. We are further informed that the Ta-Yüeh-chih divided the Ta-hsia into five *hsi-hou*. This is definitely a picture of the complete political subjugation and occupation of Ta-hsia. Moreover, we are told that both Ta-Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia accept the order of the Chinese embassy sent by the Han Court. Ta-hsia is not separately described; its identity is merged in that of the Ta-Yüeh-chih. The five *hsi-hou* are expressly stated to belong to the Ta-Yüeh-chih. And the prominence which is given to the Ta-hsia in the *Shih-chi* is not found in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*. It therefore seems evident that Bactria proper south of the Oxus river must have come under the complete political subjugation of the Yüeh-chih either after the *Shih-chi* was written or at a time quite near its completion, when the news had not reached Ssu-ma-ch'ien, but definitely long before the composition of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*. *Shih-chi* was completed in 99 B.C.,[2] and therefore, in round numbers, we may say that the occupation took place about 100 B.C.

The second important date for us to determine is that of the foundation of a new Pahlava power in Seistan by Vonones. We know from Parthian history that throughout the period 138–124 B.C., which covers the reigns of Phraates II and Artabanus II, the

[1] Professor Enoki in a long communication has compared the different Chinese words used in the Chinese annals to denote degrees of 'subjugation', and he confirms our view.

[2] Hirth, p. 91.

Scythians were a great source of trouble to the Parthians, and that both Phraates II and Artabanus II perished in their battles against them.[1] According to Kuwabara the second movement of the Yüeh-chih, i.e. from the Upper Ili westward on their journey to Ta-hsia, started in *c.* 139 B.C.,[2] and according to the chronology adopted by us Heliocles I's reign was over by about 140 B.C.[3] Thus it seems that the Scythian tribes of the Jaxartes–Oxus area, being pressed by the Yüeh-chih some time after 139 B.C., occupied parts of Bactria after the death of Heliocles I, during the reigns of Phraates II and Artabanus II from *c.* 138 to 124 B.C. We have already shown that, after Heliocles I, his successors were pushed to the east during the reign of Eucratides II, and were more or less confined to Badakshan.[4] With the accession of Mithridates II in *c.* 124 B.C. the situation improved; it seems that the Scythians were quelled, and moved southward through Merv and Herat to Seistan, where they probably met the descendants of an earlier Scythian people already mixed with the Parthians. Mithridates II's campaign against the Scythians probably occurred some time after 120 B.C., by which date his task of reducing Babylonia had been accomplished.[5] Surely the Scytho-Parthians or Pahlavas had no opportunity to rise again in the lifetime of Mithridates II, when Sacastene was governed by the Parthians. But the recalcitrant Scythians who had arrived in Seistan and were good warriors, at whose hands two of the predecessors of Mithridates II had perished, were probably not quiescent for long. On the death of Mithridates II in *c.* 88 B.C. they may have found an opportunity to declare themselves independent under the leadership of a Pahlava Vonones. In 91 B.C. a Gotarzes (I) had set himself up as an independent ruler in Babylonia,[6] and thus the Parthian kingdom was weakening at this period. This date would also fit in very well with the chronology adopted by us, for, as we shall see, Azes overstruck coins of Apollodotus and Hippostratus, and the latter was ruling in western Gandhāra, according to our calculations, in *c.* 85–70 B.C.[7] And Azes, who struck a coin with Spalirises,[8] can only be a generation later than Vonones, whose brother Spalirises was.

[1] Debevoise, op. cit., pp. 37–38.

[2] Kuwabara, op. cit., pp. 28–29; also Haloun, op. cit., p. 248.

[3] *Supra*, p. 106.

[4] *Supra*, p. 107.

[5] Debevoise, op. cit., p. 40.

[6] Ibid., p. 48.

[7] *Infra*, pp. 149–50. Nicias died *c.* 85 B.C. and Hippostratus succeeded him.

[8] *PMC*, p. 144, Pl. XIV. 395–6.

We may note here that Strabo speaks of a Parthian conquest of Bactria *from* the Scythians.[1] Probably he refers to this period, when Mithridates II was able to defeat the Scythians[2] and dislodge them from the western parts of Bactria, of which they were in possession. Unfortunately we have no evidence to show how long Mithridates II continued to possess those parts of Bactria. But certainly the Yüeh-chih, who were immediately north of the Oxus, were a menace to any kingdom situated to the south of that river, and, as we have seen, they crossed the Oxus about 100 B.C. to rule Bactria directly.

The third important date concerns the Śakas. When the Sai left the Upper Ili in *c.* 160 B.C., and their kings moved south, they founded several kingdoms. The first new settlement made by them in their progress southward must have been not far from their original kingdom, and probably at least the nucleus of a state was formed by about 155 B.C. The final achievement, however, was the conquest of Chi-pin, which on account of its geographical situation and distance must have involved a considerable time; thus Maues, the first-known Śaka king in India, followed the Indo-Greek rulers in the Swat valley and Gandhāra, as we shall see below, soon after 100 B.C. The Chinese sources tell us of a certain Mu-kua in Ferghana who was attacked by Chinese troops in *c.* 102 B.C.[3] The resemblance in name proves that both Maues and Mu-kua were Śakas.

Although it is outside the scope of our present work to discuss the problem of the eras of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it is important for us to arrive at a date for Maues' rule in the Swat and Gandhāra regions. The Maira inscription which is supposed to give the date 58 is usually considered the earliest dated document of the Śakas,[4] but this is not justifiable. The reading of the numerals in this inscription is not at all certain, and Maira in the Jhelum district is one of the southernmost finds of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in that region—the other being the Sui Vihar inscription near Multan. The inscription is very badly preserved, and Konow himself was unable to determine its age on a palaeographical basis.[5] On the other hand, the Mansehra and Fatehjang inscriptions are

[1] Strabo, xi. 9. 2.
[2] Cf. also Lohuizen, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.
[3] Hirth, pp. 108 ff., 136.
[4] Konow, *CII*, p. 11; Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 23.
[5] Konow, *CII*, p. 11.

both very clearly dated 68,[1] and this should be taken as the earliest known and certain date on a Śaka document. Another inscription, the Shahadaur inscription of Damijada, which is far better preserved than the Maira inscription and which mentions the word *Śaka*, may give us a date 60.[2] If this is correct this would be the earliest attested Śaka date. Shahadaur is in the Hazara country, and thus it would fit well geographically. But the most remarkable coincidence is that the word *Dami* in Kharoṣṭhī occurs on some of the coins of Maues together with the monogram.[3] It is possible that the *Dami* on Maues' coins is only an abbreviation of *Damijada*, the person mentioned in the Shahadaur inscription. If this is so the inscription gives the first known date 60 (?) of Maues in the Hazara country.

We accept the theory according to which these early Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are dated in an era beginning about the middle of the second century B.C.[4] Lohuizen has recently tried to make a drastic simplification by accepting only one era for all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions,[5] which earlier authorities believed to be dated in at least two eras.[6] She makes that era start in 129 B.C., which, she believes, was the date of the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chih, who, in her opinion, were Śakas. But we have shown earlier that there is no reason to believe that the Yüeh-chih were Śakas, and there is no certainty that Bactria was occupied by the Yüeh-chih in 129–128 B.C. We have also shown that the movements of the three different peoples were quite different.[7]

We are still inclined, therefore, to date such inscriptions as those of Shahadaur, Mansehra, Fatehjang, and the Taxila plate

[1] Ibid., pp. 18–22.
[2] Ibid., p. 13 and cf. plates.
[3] *PMC*, p. 102, No. 28; *BMC*, pp. 68–71.
[4] Rapson, *CHI*, p. 570; Tarn, pp. 494 ff.; Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 45.
[5] Lohuizen, op. cit., pp. 64–65.
[6] There are many theories about the number of eras used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, but at least two are widely accepted, namely, an Old Śaka era and an Azes-Vikrama era. We are not concerned here with the Kaniṣka and Śaka eras.
[7] Lohuizen's chronological system raises many difficulties, the greatest of which is her sequence of Śaka-Pahlava kings. It is clear that in order to solve one difficulty she has been forced to create others. Her theory which takes Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II as one king and Spalyris-Spalirises also as one is not convincing; on numismatic grounds alone their separate existence cannot be denied. Similarly, she is forced to regard the Śaka kings of Mathurā and even the Deccan satrap Nahapāna as earlier than Maues, which seems impossible both historically and geographically (cf. also A. L. Basham, *BSOAS*, 1953, pp. 82–84).

of Patika in an era starting in about the middle of the second century B.C. The modification we should like to propose is the occasion and origin of the era, for which there are two possibilities. The earliest inscriptions are found in an area where the Śakas coming from the north first established their power, and that area was taken from the Indo-Greeks. It is possible that there was an era already in use in that region, since the Indo-Greeks must have known of the Seleucid practice of dating in a fixed and generally accepted era. It is not inherently improbable that the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings, Menander, started an era of his own; his date we have fixed as *c.* 155 B.C. The use of the Greek months by the Śakas and later rulers points to the conclusion that they employed a system of dating started by their predecessors. And the Bajaur inscription seems to contain a date, which is unfortunately lost, before the name of King Menander.[1] Alternatively we may suggest that, following the earlier practice of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas based their era on the date of the establishment of their first new kingdom, some time soon after their dispersal from the Upper Ili, and that year, as we have shown,[2] may also have been *c.* 155 B.C. Whichever of these possibilities we accept, the fact remains that the era in question must have started about 155 B.C. Of the two possible origins of the era we are inclined to prefer the first, and we may call it the Yavana era started by Menander.[3]

The Shahadaur, Mansehra, Fatehjang, and Taxila plate inscriptions are thus dated respectively in 95, 87, 87, and 77 B.C. There is another inscription, the Muchai inscription,[4] which is dated in 81, i.e. 74 B.C., but we are doubtful whether it can safely be ascribed to Maues' reign. The Taxila inscription of Paṭika mentions the name of Moga (Maues)[5] and seems to belong to the last years of his reign, for by that time a new generation of satraps, of which Paṭika was one, had succeeded the generation of Liaka Kusulaka. Keeping the doubtful Muchai inscription also in view, the last year of Maues' reign may be taken at *c.* 75 B.C. In 95 B.C. Damijada of the Shahadaur inscription, probably his satrap, was

[1] *Ep. Ind.* xxiv. 1–8 (cf. p. 7 . . . *Minadrasa maharajasa Kaṭiasa divasa 44411 pra(ṇa)-(sa)me (da)* . . .)
[2] *Supra*, p. 142.
[3] Cf. also F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1952, p. 111.
[4] Konow, *CII*, p. 29.
[5] Fleet, *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 1013 ff., who does not think that Moga of the Taxila plate is identical with Maues of coins.

governing the Hazara country. Maues must therefore have started his career some time before this date, and the variety of his coinage[1] may allow him a reign of more than twenty years. It is very probable that his reign started soon after 100 B.C., the date we have roughly given for the overthrow of Antialcidas in Taxila by Apollodotus.[2] This historical coincidence is quite suggestive. It seems that Apollodotus was preoccupied with the dynastic struggles of the Indo-Greeks in the Gandhāra, Kabul, and Ghazni regions, and by the time the climax of his success was reached in the overthrow of Antialcidas, his hold in the Swat and Hazara countries must have slackened to give way to the adventurous Śaka king Maues. But the existence of a copper coin of Apollodotus overstruck on a coin of Maues[3] suggests that the former was able to recover at least a part of his kingdom lost to the latter; this recovery must have been of very brief duration, for obviously Maues soon occupied Taxila. That the reigns of Apollodotus and Maues overlapped and mints changed hands from one to another is not only clear from this overstrike, but is supported by the fact that Maues frequently used such monograms [monogram], or [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], [monogram], M, in common with Apollodotus,[4] and the square copper money of Maues bearing the 'Apollo-tripod' device could easily be mistaken for the coins of Apollodotus of the same type, but for the difference in legend.[5] Moreover, the only square silver issue of the Śakas and the Pahlavas in India is that struck by Maues,[6] which indicates that he was not far removed in time from Apollodotus and Philoxenus, the king of the preceding generation, who were the only Indo-Greeks to strike square silver money; and this square money has been noticed in the Swat valley.[7]

But Apollodotus, who thus lost some parts of his kingdom to Maues, was still in possession of a considerable area, and he thought himself in a position to supplant his elder brother Strato I, even in the regions east of the Jhelum to which the latter had probably already been confined as a result of Antialcidas' occupation of Taxila. The coins of Apollodotus, which have been found in the

[1] Cf. *PMC*, pp. 98–103 (24 types are listed).
[2] *Supra*, p. 126.
[3] In the Collection of Mr. H. de S. Shortt.
[4] Cf. *BMC* and *PMC*, s.v. Apollodotus and Maues.
[5] *PMC*, Pl. X. 18; *BMC*, Pl. XVII. 7.
[6] *NC*, 1890, Pl. V. 3.
[7] The Bajaur hoards contained the square drachms of Apollodotus.

regions east of the Jhelum, are closely associated in all respects with the coins of Zoilus II, Dionysius, and Apollophanes.[1] These three kings probably succeeded Apollodotus in the regions of Jammu and Sialkot, where their coins are found,[2] and they seem to have filled the interregnum of about fifteen years in the exceptionally long reign of Strato I. All these three kings use in common the monograms [monogram], and [monogram].[3] They may have ruled in the order we have mentioned them, for Zoilus II seems to be the first, because he overstruck one of the Apollodotus coins.[4]

The last king of this group in that small kingdom, whoever he may have been, seems to have been overthrown by Strato I, probably with the assistance of Strato II, who may have been his young and vigorous grandson.[5] It is also likely that he was helped by Maues, who by this time had driven a wedge between the two kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks by occupying Taxila and confining the one to the east of the Jhelum and the other to the west of the Indus. There are some crude drachms of Strato I where he figures as an old man with his name alone in the legend,[6] but there are others where he is associated with Strato II in the legend, and which represent Strato I as still older.[7] These coins are few in number, and therefore the reign of Strato I after his restoration probably lasted for only about five years. The easternmost kingdom of the Indo-Greeks thus came to an end in about 75 B.C.

After taking possession of the Swat valley and the Hazara country, Maues occupied Taxila. The Taxila copper plate of Paṭika, according to our theory dated in 77 B.C., refers to the satrap Liaka Kusulaka and his son Paṭika. If Damijada of the Shahadaur inscription is identical with the person who gives his initials as *Dami* on some coins of Maues, we get probably the name of another satrap of Maues. Liaka Kusulaka was satrap in Cukṣa (Chach, 'a broad alluvial plain in the north of the Attock District, alongside the Indus')[8] and Damijada was probably in Abhisāra (the Hazara country).[9] The facts that Damijada stamped his name

[1] Cf. *BMC* and *PMC* under their names and cf. plates. Also *supra*, pp. 102, 104. [2] *Supra*, p. 104. [3] *BMC*, pp. 51–54. [4] Tarn, p. 319.

[5] Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 254–5, has shown that Strato II was a grandson and not a son of Strato I.

[6] *PMC*, Pl. V. 361. [7] *PMC*, Pl. VIII. 643; see Pl. III.

[8] Marshall, op. cit. i. 48.

[9] The Shahadaura inscription in the Agror valley 'points to the conclusion that the Hazara country belonged to the old Śaka empire'. (Konow, *CII*, p. 13.)

on the money of Maues and that Liaka Kusulaka minted his own coins[1] indicate that these satraps enjoyed the same administrative power and political status as the sub-kings under the Indo-Greeks. The conquest of Taxila by Maues must have occurred before 77 B.C., if this is the date of the Taxila copper plate; we may suppose that Maues occupied Taxila about 85 B.C. This would be quite in accord with our chronology of the Indo-Greek kings, according to which Apollodotus died in *c.* 95 B.C. The gap of ten years between these two events would be filled, as far as Taxila is concerned, by the short reigns of Telephus and Hippostratus, before the latter succeeded Nicias in western Gandhāra after being expelled from Taxila, probably by Maues.[2]

The coinage of Telephus bears the monograms [monogram] and [monogram], which never occur on other Indo-Greek coins, but are found on those of Maues.[3] It is generally agreed that he was associated with Maues in time and place.[4] Since there seems to be no possibility of his being the successor of Maues, he must have been his predecessor in some region. Tarn thought, on the basis of the 'enthroned Zeus' type of Telephus' coins, that he ruled in Kāpiśa,[5] and on this basis he also connected Maues with the Kabul valley.[6] But no coins of Telephus have come from the Kabul valley, and the 'enthroned Zeus' type has no connexion with Kāpiśī;[7] moreover, we have no other evidence of Maues' rule in the Kabul region.[8] Among the limited number of Telephus' coins known at present most have come from Gandhāra;[9] his coins were also found in the Taxila excavations,[10] and one coin was noticed in the Hazara district.[11] Undoubtedly he did not rule in the Kabul valley. Out of the three types he used on his coins two have the 'enthroned Zeus' on the

[1] For Damijada cf. *BMC*, pp. 68–69, 71, Pls. XVI. 3, 6, XVII. 3; *PMC*, p. 102, No. 28. For Liaka Kusulaka cf. *CHI*, Pl. VIII. 42.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 149.

[3] Whitehead, *NS* xiv. 561; *NC*, 1923, p. 337. Cf. coins of Telephus and Maues in *BMC* and *PMC*.

[4] Whitehead, op. cit., p. 337; Tarn, pp. 332–3, 496–7.

[5] The identification of the deity on the 'Kaviṣiye nagara' coin with Zeus was unchallenged until 1947; 'Zeus enthroned' was therefore generally connected with Kāpiśa.

[6] Tarn, pp. 332–3.

[7] Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

[8] Cf. *infra*, p. 153.

[9] *NC*, 1947, p. 31.

[10] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 767.

[11] *JASB*, 1898, p. 130; *NC*, 1923, p. 337.

obverse,[1] and he may thus have belonged to the group of Antialcidas. It seems that after the death of Apollodotus he avenged the defeat of Antialcidas and reoccupied Taxila for a short period. Some of the strange devices on his coinage like the 'serpent-footed giant'[2] and the 'squatting male figure',[3] led Tarn to believe that Telephus was a usurper and even to doubt that he was a Greek.[4]

The last years of Apollodotus must have been full of activity and vigilance because of the Śaka danger, and it was evidently necessary to strengthen his power by consolidating his kingdom as best he could. He had probably removed Strato I on account of the latter's inefficiency, and we have suggested that Apollodotus was succeeded by Zoilus II, Dionysius, and Apollophanes in the Jammu–Sialkot region, until Strato I was reinstated probably with the help of Maues.[5] Apollodotus may also have appointed sub-kings who belonged to other family groups in order to gain their support. One of these may have been Nicias of the family of Antimachus II and Philoxenus, whom we have placed before Hippostratus, who was almost certainly the last of that group.[6]

The silver money of Nicias as far as is known at present is found only in western Gandhāra,[7] though his copper coins are found in the Jhelum area.[8] According to Whitehead his silver coinage is associated in type, style, and monogram with western Gandhāra.[9] Tarn's statement that, except for the unique drachm, Nicias struck only copper coins,[10] is incorrect, because Newell had already illustrated one tetradrachm bearing 'helmeted Pallas facing, striding to l. with upraised r. arm brandishing a thunderbolt'.[11] The statement that the coins of Nicias are only found in the Jhelum region[12] is now shown to be incorrect, and therefore the view that

[1] *PMC*, Pl. VII. 640; *NC*, 1923, Pl. XVII. 5, 6.
[2] *PMC*, p. 80; *BMC*, Pl. XXXII. 7.
[3] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XVII. 6.
[4] Tarn, p. 333. Cunningham (*CASE*, p. 296–7) thought that 'the giant with the snaky legs may possibly refer to Scythes, the son of Heracles and Echidna according to Herodotus, or of Zeus and Echidna according to Diodorus, who was the eponymous hero of the Scythian nations'. He suspects some Scythian connexion through the mother's side. Marshall points out that the giant holds a lotus-stalk and suggests that he is a Yakṣa (cf. *Taxila*, ii. 836).
[5] Cf. *supra*, p. 146.
[6] Cf. *supra*, pp. 112–13.
[7] *NC*, 1950, p. 209.
[8] *NC*, 1940, p. 109.
[9] *NC*, 1923, p. 334; *NC*, 1940, loc. cit.
[10] Tarn, p. 327.
[11] *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, p. 72, Pl. XI. 12; also, *NNM* (*ANS*), No. 82, pp. 93–94, Pl. VI. 57.
[12] *CHI*, p. 547; Tarn, p. 328.

his kingdom lay somewhere on that river[1] lacks support. It is remarkable that no coins of Nicias have been found in Taxila,[2] and we fail to understand why Whitehead thinks that the 'horseman' copper of Nicias which bear no monograms 'may be placed at Taxila or farther east, with the silver money of Hippostratus, perhaps at the shadowy Bucephala'.[3] We believe that the indications are in favour of placing Nicias in charge rather of some parts of western Gandhāra than of areas east of the Indus. Even if he at first controlled some parts of the Taxila area he was soon overthrown by Telephus. The coins of Nicias are, however, not abundant, and he probably reigned for only about ten years after Apollodotus' death, that is, up to *c.* 85 B.C.

The appearance of a head of Poseidon with trident on the obverse and of a dolphin twined round an anchor on the reverse of a copper coin of Nicias,[4] which is also closely connected with a similar type of Hippostratus, where a triton holds a dolphin and rudder,[5] is believed by Tarn to signify the celebration of a naval victory on the Jhelum river, probably against the Śakas.[6] We have discussed earlier the doubtful connexion of Poseidon with naval victories.[7] But, apart from that, it does not seem likely that a naval engagement could have taken place on the Jhelum, in view of the speed of its current and the absence of material for building boats except in its upper reaches.[8] Alexander actually had to bring his few boats to the Jhelum by road from the Indus.[9] On the other hand, the alternative suggestion of Tarn is more probable, though he himself does not favour it: 'It might be suggested that, if Nicias was a descendant of Antimachus I through Antimachus II, he was merely copying his type.'[10] This would support our family grouping on the basis of coin-types.

Hippostratus, who is very closely associated with Nicias,[11] must have succeeded him in western Gandhāra. On the basis of the distribution of his coins Whitehead placed Hippostratus in the

[1] Tarn, loc. cit.
[2] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766–7.
[3] *NC*, 1950, p. 210.
[4] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XVI. 14; *BMC*, Pl. XIII. 12.
[5] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XVII. 4; *PMC*, Pl. VIII, 631; *BMC*, Pl. XIV. 6.
[6] Tarn, pp. 328 ff.
[7] Cf. *supra*, p. 48.
[8] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 65. He also notes that in the history of the next 2000 years there is no record of naval battles on any of the three rivers above Multan.
[9] Arrian, v. 8.
[10] Tarn, p. 328.
[11] Cf. *supra*, pp. 112–13.

Peshawar and Hazara districts,[1] but it is strange that the coins of Hippostratus are very scarce in Taxila,[2] a fact which is particularly striking in view of his comparatively abundant coinage. However, it is not unlikely that he controlled some areas east of the Indus for a time, but his main kingdom probably lay west of the Indus for the major part of his reign. His coins have been found in Punch with those of Azilises,[3] but it is likely that both types travelled there at a later time when the Pahlavas occupied the whole of Gandhāra and areas to the east of it. In General Haughton's list, with the exception of Hazara, all the places mentioned in connexion with the coins of Hippostratus are west of the Indus.[4] Whitehead has also reported, on the testimony of W. S. Talbot, that silver tetradrachms are not found in the Jhelum district, and therefore he objects to the theory of Tarn that the 'City' coins of Hippostratus were struck at Bucephala,[5] which Tarn places on the east bank of Jhelum and considers to have been the capital of Hippostratus.[6] If the 'City' silver issues of Hippostratus, which consist almost entirely of tetradrachms, had been struck at Bucephala, it is strange that they are not found in the regions east of the Jhelum river.

The coins of Hippostratus have attracted the attention of scholars for more than one reason. His tetradrachms are comparatively abundant[7] and they are commoner than drachms. Tarn conjectured, therefore, that this presupposes an increased trade with the Western world,[8] but this theory did not find favour with Burn, who thought that the rise of the Śakas and Pahlavas stood in the way of such trade.[9] It is noteworthy that Hippostratus' coins are not found in any number in the Kabul or Ghazni regions;[10] had there been a brisk trade with the West we should expect some indication of it in the geographical distribution of his coins.

Two other kings, Artemidorus and Peucolaus, form one group because of their common type, Artemis.[11] Their coins are rare, and indicate short reigns, probably as sub-kings.[12] Their coins are totally

[1] *NC*, 1923, p. 338; *NC*, 1940, p. 110.
[2] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766–7. Only six coins of Hippostratus are listed.
[3] *NC*, 1923, p. 338.
[4] *NC*, 1943, p. 58.
[5] *NC*, 1940, pp. 110–11; Tarn, pp. 326–7.
[6] Tarn, loc. cit.
[7] Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, p. 304; *NNM (ANS)*, No. 13, p. 25; Tarn, p. 330.
[8] Tarn, loc. cit.
[9] Burn, *JRAS*, 1941, p. 66.
[10] Cf. chart, *supra*, p. 104.
[11] Cf. *supra*, pp. 102–3.
[12] Tarn, p. 316.

absent from the regions of Taxila and Ghazni.[1] But the monograms used by these kings are different,[2] and they may have been also among the sub-kings of Apollodotus in different parts of his kingdom; it is possible that they survived him to rule in those parts as ephemeral independent kings. On their rare tetradrachms the portraits are remarkable for their stark realism.[3] Artemidorus and Peucolaus, according to Tarn, are associated with Puṣkalāvatī both by their types and by their names,[4] but it seems, from the geographical distribution of their coins, that Peucolaus also ruled in the Kabul valley,[5] whereas Artemidorus was confined to the Peshawar region.[6]

Tarn thought that Artemidorus' rule in Puṣkalāvatī was certain, and that his immediate successor was Maues.[7] But he has adduced no evidence other than a reference to Rapson, which he accepts as conclusive. The latter, however, only says[8] that 'the kingdom of Puṣkalāvatī was wrested from the Yavanas by the first Çaka king Maues who imitated the types of Artemidorus, Artemis: Indian Bull'. This is not conclusive, for the two pieces of Artemidorus and Maues in question are quite different in shape, style, and monograms.[9] The Artemis of Maues is clearly taken from some other source.[10]

Besides the Artemis of Artemidorus, Peucolaus also used 'Zeus standing' on his silver coins.[11] It is difficult to arrange Artemidorus and Peucolaus in chronological order, but Peucolaus seems to have lived longer and ruled a wider area than Artemidorus. Both seem to belong, however, to the period *c.* 95–85 B.C.

Maues' occupation of Taxila must have resulted in the isolation of the kingdoms of Apollodotus' successors, one of which was east of the Jhelum and the other west of the Indus. With the Indus–Jhelum Doab in his possession Maues might have expanded either to the west or to the east. The evidence of his coins would indicate that, if he extended his power beyond Taxila, it was to the west;

[1] Cf. chart, *supra*, p. 104. Cf. also Marshall, op. cit. ii. 766–7; Schlumberger, pp. 73–79.
[2] Artemidorus: , , , ; Peucolaus: .
[3] *NC*, 1947, p. 47, Pl. II. 4; *NC*, 1923, p. 324, Pl. XV. 4.
[4] Tarn, pp. 315–16.
[5] Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, pp. 324–5.
[6] *NC*, 1943, p. 59.
[7] Tarn, p. 316 and fn. 2.
[8] *CHI*, p. 558.
[9] Cf. *PMC*, Pls. VII. 555 and X. 10. For the latter cf. also *BMC*, Pl. XVI. 4; *NC*, 1940, p. 97.
[10] Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, loc. cit.
[11] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XV. 4.

his coins are scarcely to be found east of the Jhelum,[1] where he probably supported the claim of the deposed king Strato and helped him to regain power.[2] With his rear thus protected, he may have crossed the Indus to the west and occupied some parts of western Gandhāra.[3] Probably he did not occupy the whole of that region, for Hippostratus, who seems to have been the last ruler there, was evidently finally overthrown by Azes I, who overstruck his coins[4] and used some of his distinctive monograms;[5] the latter is known to have also overstruck a coin of Apollodotus, who was a predecessor of Hippostratus.[6]

The defeat of Hippostratus in western Gandhāra by Azes I brought about the fall of the Indo-Greeks east of the Kabul valley. Azes I evidently followed Maues in Taxila, though there may have been a short gap between them,[7] and they were evidently not related. In fact, they belonged to the two distinct families, the Śakas and the Pahlavas.[8] Numismatic evidence makes it clear that Azes I was related to Spalirises,[9] and there may be some truth in the suggestion that he was a son of the latter.[10] It is also proved from the coins that Spalirises and Spalyris (Spalahora) were brothers of Vonones.[11] Spalyris predeceased Vonones, who was succeeded by Spalirises.[12] We have shown that Vonones achieved power in *c.* 88 B.C.; probably he was an old man at the time, for he did not strike any coin on which he alone was mentioned. His brothers could not have been young, because Spalagadames, the son of his brother Spalyris, was old enough to occupy a place in the reverse inscription of some of the coins of Vonones.[13] The coins of Spalirises as king in his own right are very rare, which suggests that he did not survive Vonones for more than a few years. In such circumstances

1 *CHI*, pp. 554, 570, Maues did not conquer the eastern Punjab.
2 Cf. *supra*, p. 146.
3 Liaka Kusulaka was a Satrap of Cukṣa, and Cukṣa probably included some parts of western Gandhāra; cf. Marshall, op. cit., p. 48.
4 *CHI*, pp. 554, 572. Cf. *PMC*, pp. 122–3; *BMC*, pp. 59, 73.
5 [monograms].
6 *CHI*, p. 554.
7 Cf. also Konow, *JIH* xii. 20; Tarn, p. 349; *contra:* Marshall, *Taxila*, i. 48–51.
8 Cf. *supra*, pp. 138 ff.
9 *PMC*, Pl. XIV. 395, 396; *CHI*, p. 573.
10 Rapson, *CHI*, p. 573; Tarn, p. 347.
11 Cf. the coin-legends on their coins: *PMC*, pp. 141–3.
12 Otherwise the coins of Vonones with Spalirises and those with Spalagadames son of Spalahora become meaningless. Moreover, it is Spalirises who alone struck coins as 'king of kings' (*PMC*, pp. 142–4).
13 *PMC*, p. 142, Pl. XIV, 382–5.

it is quite reasonable to suppose a duration of fifteen years for the reign of Vonones and his brothers because it involves a single generation in which probably all concerned were at least past middle age on coming to the throne. Thus Azes I came to the throne probably about 73 B.C. This would fit in well with our chronology of Maues, who died *c.* 75 B.C., and of Hippostratus, whose reign probably ended in *c.* 70 B.C., on the assumption that he came to the throne in *c.* 85 B.C.[1] and ruled for about fifteen years.

At length we come to the account of the fall of the Indo-Greeks in their last stronghold, the Paropamisadae and other isolated enclaves north of the Hindu Kush.

Amyntas, whom we have shown to belong to the group of Antialcidas,[2] may not have succeeded him immediately. Tarn supposed a considerable gap between Antialcidas and Amyntas.[3] In this gap he would put first a Pahlava occupation of the Kabul valley and then Maues' conquest, which was preceded for a brief period by the reign of Telephus. He further believed that Amyntas superseded Maues 'somewhere round about 60 B.C.' and that Hermaeus cannot have come to the throne 'later than about 50'. Though we accept the possibility of some gap between Antialcidas and Amyntas, we do not believe that it was one of about forty years, as Tarn would have us believe. Apart from the fact that there is nothing in the coins of Amyntas to suggest such a long interval between him and Antialcidas, we have already shown that Maues did not conquer even the whole of western Gandhāra, and the question of his occupation of the Kabul valley therefore does not arise. But for one stray specimen, coins of Maues have never been noticed in the Kabul valley.[4] It is unlikely that any king of the family of Vonones conquered the Paropamisadae at this time, for again we find hardly any money of the predecessors of Azes I in that region. Moreover, Spalyris and Spalagadames,

1 *Supra*, p. 149.
2 Cf. *supra*, p. 102.
3 Tarn, pp. 331 ff.
4 Cunningham noted 'not a single specimen, to my knowledge having been found in the Kabul valley', *Coins of The Sakas*, p. 2. Hackin noted that only some coins come in to *dealers* at Jalalabad. But cf. Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 206, who remarked that the first piece of Maues was found at Kabul. But there it ends, because, as far as we have been able to check, the coins of Maues are not found in the Kabul valley; odd finds of stray coins are no evidence. Whitehead's remark about the coins of Azes in the Kabul valley is, however, true. Schlumberger's account of the Mir Zakah treasure also lists only one coin of Maues as against thousands of Azes.

whom Tarn supposes to be the kings in question, are not known to have issued any extensive coinage, and they did not strike coins as 'king of kings' as other rulers of that family did; they were never more than joint-kings. And even the coins of Spalirises, who did issue money as 'king of kings', found in the Kabul valley, number only two or three.

Tarn has, however, ignored these facts in favour of unsafe deductions from the Chinese sources, made by accepting the certainty of identifications of Chinese names[1] proposed by von Gutschmid[2] and Wylie,[3] which are by no means conclusive.

In the *Ch'ien Han Shu*[4] it is said that W'ou-ti-lao, king of Chi-pin, killed some Chinese envoys. But after the death of W'ou-ti-lao his son (whose name is not given) sent an envoy to China to make peace. Wen Chung, the Chinese general at the Barrier, was sent to escort the envoy back home. W'ou-ti-lao's son plotted to kill Wen Chung, but the latter discovered this and allied himself with Yin-mo-fu, son of the king of Yung-kiu. The two attacked Chi-pin and killed W'ou-ti-lao's son, and Yin-mo-fu was installed as king of Chi-pin. Subsequently, in the reign of Yuan-ti (48–33 B.C.), Yin-mo-fu killed the escort of a Chinese envoy and sent an envoy to China to excuse himself, but Yuan-ti took no thought for such a distant land.

In this story Tarn, accepting von Gutschmid and Wylie, identified Yin-mo-fu with Hermaeus, Chi-pin with Kabul, Yung-kiu with Yonaki, W'ou-ti-lao with the *adelphou* on the coins of Spalyris, i.e. the 'king's brother' Spalyris, and W'ou-ti-lao's son with Spalagadames.[5] Apart from the fact that other identifications have also been suggested by other scholars,[6] and that Chi-pin cannot be Kabul,[7] W'ou-ti-lao cannot be identified with Spalyris simply because the name is supposed to be identical with *adelphou*. Even for a moment granting this identity there is no reason to believe that it must refer to Spalyris, and not to Spalirises or to Gondophernes' brother, whose son was Abdagases, known from coins

[1] Tarn, pp. 339 ff.
[2] von Gutschmid, pp. 109–10.
[3] Wylie, p. 36.
[4] Bk. 96 a; Wylie, pp. 35–36.
[5] Tarn, pp. 340 ff.
[6] Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 409, thought W'ou-ti-lao was Gondophernes. Cunningham, *NC*, 1890, pp. 9 ff. read Yin-mo-fu as Miaos; Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1912, p. 685, made him Kaniṣka or a viceroy of his; Herrmann, s.v. *Sakai* in *Pauly–Wissowa*, made him Maues and W'ou-ti-lao Agathocleia.
[7] Cf. *supra*, pp. 135–6.

to be Gondophernes' nephew. Moreover, *adelphou* is not the name of a king, and if Yin-mo-fu in the story is a proper name why should not W'ou-ti-lao also be a proper name rather than a title? None of the various suggestions for the identification of W'ou-ti-lao and Yin-mo-fu seem to us to be convincing; the question, fortunately, has no very important bearing on our subject.

The interval between Antialcidas and Amyntas need not be a long one. But it is almost certain that there must have been a small gap between them, because the monograms used by Amyntas are not those which generally occur on the money of Antialcidas; and, on the other hand, at least two of his monograms, [monogram], and [monogram], are quite distinctive and used in common only with Hermaeus.[1] The close proximity between Amyntas and Hermaeus is also suggested by their common use of a peculiar type, a bearded male bust, radiate, in a Phrygian cap.[2] Tarn has suggested that Amyntas was probably the father of Hermaeus.[3] Certainly Amyntas was a predecessor of Hermaeus and followed Antialcidas on the throne after a short interval. This is quite reasonable if, as we believe, for some time after the death of Antialcidas, Apollodotus was reigning supreme over all the former's kingdom except in the regions north of the Hindu Kush where, following the overthrow of Antialcidas, Theophilus, who took the peculiarly suggestive title of 'Autocrator', may have seized power for a short period.[4] But some time after the death of Apollodotus, when his kingdom had begun to disintegrate in consequence of the Śaka attack, Amyntas managed to re-establish his power. He may have overthrown Theophilus north of the Hindu Kush and then crossed it to occupy the Kabul valley. We have suggested that some sub-kings of Apollodotus survived him and governed parts of his kingdom, but, except Peucolaus, we cannot place any such sub-king in the Kabul valley. Peucolaus himself probably had a short reign; we suggest, therefore, that Amyntas superseded Peucolaus about 85 B.C., almost at the same time as Maues' occupation of Taxila. This probability is supported by the fact that the monograms [monogram] and [monogram] used by Peucolaus[5] are

[1] Cf. *BMC*, Pl. XIV. 10 (Amyntas) and pp. 64–65 (Hermaeus); *PMC*, Pl. VIII. 636 (Amyntas). An unpublished coin of Amyntas in BM (*ex* Cunningham) has [monogram] and cf. this on the Attic tetradrachm of Hermaeus in *JNSI*, 1954, Pt. II, Pl. III. 7, also *PMC*, p. 82, No. 652 for Hermaeus. Cf. Pl. V, 2 and 3.
[2] *PMC*, Pl. VIII. 637 (Amyntas), Pl. IX. 679 (Hermaeus).
[3] Tarn, p. 331.
[4] *Supra*, p. 118.
[5] The monograms of Peucolaus are limited in number.

also employed by Amyntas. Five remarkably large silver coins of the latter, which are double decadrachms, bearing two types, 'helmeted bust of king and Zeus enthroned', and 'helmeted bust of king and Demeter enthroned' have recently been found, and these bear the monogram ⧄.[1] The overthrow of Theophilus and Peucolaus and the recovery of parts of Antialcidas' kingdom led to the re-establishment of the power of Amyntas, who probably struck these medallions in order to commemorate his achievement. Not only are they the largest silver coins in any Greek series, but the bust of the king is artistically second to none on Greek coins. The title 'Nikator' adopted by Amyntas also indicates some victory; if Theophilus' title 'Autocrator' indicates his rebellion,[2] that of Amyntas probably shows his triumph over the rebel; both these epithets are unique in the Indo-Greek series.

Coins of Amyntas have been found in western Gandhāra,[3] and he may have extended his control in that direction. But it would seem that at some time between Antialcidas and Amyntas an ephemeral prince Diomedes managed to control parts of western Gandhāra, probably at the death of Apollodotus.[4] He is one of the least discussed kings of the Indo-Greeks; Tarn has said nothing about him except that he was one of those who ruled in the long gap he supposed between Antialcidas and Amyntas.[5] Although he did not adopt the Zeus type of the family of Eucratides I, which became the main type after the death of the latter, the use of the 'mounted Dioscuri charging' type by Diomedes surely connects him with that family. The adoption of this type by Diomedes tempts us to suggest with Cunningham that he was probably a son of Eucratides,[6] but the monograms[7] used by him definitely link him with the later kings, and stylistically his coins can be placed between Antialcidas and Amyntas. The bulk of his money has been

[1] They were illustrated by Bivar in *Spink's Numismatic Circular* (May 1953) vol. lxi, No. 5, p. 201, and by Narain in *JNSI*, 1953, Pl. XII. 1–2. Also, Pl. V. 1.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 118. Tryphon was the only person in the Seleucid series to have taken this epithet, and he was a usurper, cf. Henri Seyrig, 'Notes on Syrian Coins', *NNM(ANS)*, No. 119 (New York, 1950), p. 12; also *BMC Seleucid*, p. 68, Pl. XXVIII. 9. Tryphon's date 142/141 (his first year) should be noted.

[3] *NC*, 1943, p. 56.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 124. Eucratides (III?), who overstruck Apollodotus' copper, may also have done so in that period.

[5] Tarn, p. 315.

[6] Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 240.

[7] ɸ, ⧄, ⧄, ⧅, ⊟, Σ ⊟.

noticed in the western Gandhāra region.[1] His copper coins bear the rare type of 'standing Dioscuri and bull'.[2]

The 'enthroned Zeus' type of Amyntas, which connects him with the Antialcidas group, is singular in having a Pallas instead of a Nike on the god's hand,[3] and the other type which Amyntas used on his coins is also Pallas, standing and hurling a thunderbolt,[4] as on the coins of Menander and some of his successors. The appearance of Pallas on Amyntas' money and of the 'king on prancing horse' type on Hermaeus' coins[5] probably suggests that the last descendants of Eucratides I and the successors of Menander or Antimachus I joined hands against the all-surrounding danger of the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Yüeh-chih; and the old suggestion[6] that the marriage of Calliope to Hermaeus was the result of such an alliance may be correct.

Amyntas, as would appear from his portraits, re-established his power when he was approaching middle age, and does not seem to have ruled long. Probably his reign lasted for some ten years, and he was succeeded by Hermaeus in *c.* 75 B.C.

The evidence of numismatic epigraphy has been used to determine the chronology of this period, which also affects the date of Hermaeus. Rapson's dictum, that the occurrence of the square omicron □ on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than *c.* 40 B.C.,[7] has been generally followed by scholars.[8] But he also noted that the squared forms of the Greek letters □, ⊏, ⊔⊔ are characteristic of certain regions, but are not found in others.[9] And while discussing the coins of Vonones, to whom he ascribes a late date, Rapson is constrained to remark that this epigraphical test cannot be applied in this particular instance.[10] In spite of the obvious difficulties of this evidence Bachhofer has taken pains to discuss it in elaborate detail:[11]

□ indicates a date later than ca. 40 B.C., but it must be borne in mind

[1] *NC*, 1943, p. 57. Only one coin is recorded in *Taxila*, ii. 667, and in the Mir Zakah Treasure also there was only one coin: Schlumberger, p. 76.

[2] *PMC*, p. 37, Pl. IV. 220.

[3] It was formerly described as Nike (*BMC*, p. 61; *PMC*, p. 78), but the attribution was corrected in *NC*, 1923, p. 332: Zeus never holds Nike on Amyntas' coins.

[4] *NC*, 1923, Pl. XVI. 9; *BMC*, Pl. XIV. 9.

[5] *CHI*, p. 560; Tarn, p. 337.

[6] It was first suggested by Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 298–9; cf. *infra*, p. 161.

[7] *CHI*, pp. 571–2.

[8] Tarn, p. 325; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, pp. 232 ff.

[9] *CHI*, p. 572, fn. 1.

[10] Ibid., p. 573.

[11] Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, pp. 233 ff.

that the round O was constantly used after the date; Ϲ indicates a date later than ca. 40 B.C., as it appears first under Mithridates III (56–55 B.C.) and regularly from the later years of Orodes II (55–38/37 B.C.). But (Σ)[1] was used beside it, down to Gondophernes' reign, for there is a coin of his which uses Σ, instead of C with ω. ω points either to the years around 10 A.D. or to the end of Gondophernes' time. The same holds for the letters C, O, Є. Ш indicates the period ca. 10–40 A.D.

But, in the elucidation which follows this, Bachhofer himself has to admit that 'the state of things looks more muddled than ever'.[2] Surely as many instances can be cited against Bachhofer's rules as in favour of them. To take only a few where we may be fairly certain about dates: on a coin of Antialcidas, who cannot be put later than 90 B.C., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is written ΒΑCΙΛΕωϹ;[3] Nicias, who cannot be considered later than Hippostratus,[4] used Ϲ Ш □ and C ω O besides the normal forms[5]—are we to make him, therefore, a contemporary of Gondophernes, who also used these forms?[6] The name of Zoilus Soter is written as ΖωΙΛΟΥ,[7] but can we date him around 10 A.D. or still later? Vonones and Spalyris have Σ Ω O and so have Vonones and Spalagadames,[8] but Spalyris and Spalagadames, of the same generation, have also Ϲ Ш □.[9] On the coins of Hermaeus square letters do not generally occur, except on those which bear the legend ΣΤΗΡ□ΣΣΥ, though there are exceptions.[10] Bachhofer has noted in a footnote, 'it seems that in the former centres of Greek power and culture, in Kāpiśa and the cities of the Punjab, the older, correct lettering held out longer than in the border states, where the cursive forms were more readily accepted for coin-legends'.[11] This is again somewhat curious. Why and how did the Parthian coins influence the lettering of the Indian coins of the 'border states' only, and not of the money which circulated in the main centres of trade and culture, where there was more likelihood of the two currencies meeting? It has been noticed that the knowledge and use of Greek differed sharply according to locality, even in the homeland of the Oriental Greeks.[12] In fact Greek linguistic influence outside the centres of culture

[1] In Bachhofer's article the space to include a letter, presumably Σ, is empty.
[2] Bachhofer, op. cit., p. 234.
[3] *PMC*, Pl. III. 172; Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 209.
[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 149.
[5] *PMC*, pp. 73–74.
[6] *PMC*, pp. 146, 150–2.
[7] *PMC*, p. 67.
[8] *PMC*, pp. 141–2.
[9] *PMC*, p. 143.
[10] e.g. *PMC*, 650.
[11] *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240.
[12] *NC*. 1944, p. 104.

was variable and complex.[1] Our attention has been drawn by Tarn and Altheim to the early sporadic usage of square □ in Greek inscriptions.[2] Our conclusion is that the square forms were adopted either for the sake of variety or through inadequate knowledge of the Greek literary tradition on the part of some of the coin-engravers.

The coins on which the names of Hermaeus and the Kuṣāṇa king Kujūla Kadphises are found in association have long been adduced as evidence in any discussion on the chronology of this period and the date of Hermaeus. It was first supposed that they were actually joint-issues and that Hermaeus was immediately succeeded by Kujūla Kadphises.[3] But long ago F. W. Thomas suggested that there was an intermediate period between Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises during which the Pahlavas were in the possession of Kabul.[4] This led Rapson to give up his own view and to accept that of Thomas as almost certainly correct.[5] Since then this has been the general opinion of scholars, including, among others, Tarn[6] and Marshall.[7] Even Konow, who was at one time inclined to think that those coins indicate an alliance between Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises some time after A.D. 25,[8] abandoned this untenable theory later.[9] The earlier theory, which had been generally given up, has been revived by Lohuizen,[10] the only difference being that, instead of dating Hermaeus late, she has put back the date of Kujūla.[11] But Lohuizen's chronological scheme is closely connected with her theory of one era of 129 B.C., which, as we have shown elsewhere, is not acceptable.[12] The fact remains that there must have been a considerable gap between Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises. One explicit statement in the Chinese sources seems to settle the matter conclusively. The *Hou-Han Shu* says,[13] 'Kao-fu was never dependent on the Yüeh-chih, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (i.e. the *Ch'ien Han Shu*)

[1] Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 209.
[2] It had appeared sporadically at Athens from the third century B.C., and there is an occurrence of it at Susa in an inscription of 98 B.C.: Tarn, p. 326.
[3] Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 16.
[4] *JRAS*, 1906, p. 194, fn. 1.
[5] *CHI*, pp. 561–2.
[6] Tarn, pp. 338 ff.
[7] Marshall, op. cit., p. 52.
[8] Konow, *CII*, p. lxiii.
[9] *JIH*, xii. 29.
[10] Lohuizen, op. cit., pp. 362–4; cf. also Ghirshman, *Bégram*, pp. 120–1, who, in order to make Hermaeus the immediate predecessor of Kujūla Kadphises, postulates a very late date for him.
[11] Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 361.
[12] *Supra*, pp. 143–4.
[13] Bk. 88.

when it includes it (in the lands of) the five *hsi-hou*. Later on it fell under the dependency of An-hsi (Parthia), and it was when the Yüeh-chih triumphed over An-hsi that they for the first time took Kao-fu'. This makes it certain that the Kuṣāṇas took the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas and not from Hermaeus, and we come to the irresistible conclusion that it was to the Pahlavas that Hermaeus lost his kingdom south of the Hindu Kush.[1] This Pahlava conquest will be discussed below.

It is likely that earlier in his reign Hermaeus lost his possessions north of the Hindu Kush to the Yüeh-chih, perhaps to an ancestor of Kujūla Kadphises.[2] When Kujūla conquered the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas, he struck coins with the obverse of Hermaeus' last issue and a reverse with the type of Heracles,[3] which had been adopted earlier by the Pahlava kings also.[4] Tarn thought that an ancestor of Kujūla, probably his grandfather, had married a relative of Hermaeus, and in issuing those coins Kujūla was commemorating his relationship to the last Greek king.[5] Tarn believed that the ancestor of Kujūla in question must have been Heraus.[6] Bachhofer, on the other hand, thought that Kujūla imitated those currencies which were best known and most readily accepted, striking pieces with the head of Augustus for the same reason.[7]

[1] *CHI*, pp. 561–2; Tarn, pp. 338 ff.; Marshall, op. cit., p. 52; also Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, p. 239–50.

[2] He may have been Heraus, whose coins have been much discussed. Cf. for his coins *PMC*, pp. 163–4, Pl. XVI. 115. The Greek legend on the coin reads ΤΥΑΝ□ΝΝΤ□Σ ΗΑ□Υ Κ□ΙΙΑΝ□Υ; the last word may be interpreted as *Kushānou*. In exergue there occurs a word which has been variously read as ΣΑΝΑΒ and ΣΑΚΑ. But see also *NC*, 1940, p. 120.

[3] *PMC*, pp. 178–9.

[4] Both 'standing Heracles' and 'seated Heracles' were used by the Pahlava kings on their coins. Cf. *PMC*, pp. 124, 138, 141, and 143.

[5] Tarn, p. 343.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240. This has been the usual view, but cf. Allan in *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 74, which has been generally neglected by later writers (Dr. Basham has noticed it in *BSOAS*, 1953, p. 89). Allan's judgement that the coin-type concerned is more indebted to a coin of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) than to one of Augustus seems to us convincing after our own examination of the respective coins. If this view is accepted it will invalidate any theory which puts the beginning of Kujūla's reign in *c.* 25 or 30 B.C. (e.g. Lohuizen, op. cit., p. 364) unless of course we admit a reign of ninety years, which is absurd. On the other hand, this will strongly support the theory of a gap between Hermaeus and Kujūla, unless we are prepared to put the end of Hermaeus' reign at least in the first quarter of the first century A.D., which is too late. This would also accord very well with our theory that Bactria proper was occupied by the Yüeh-chih about 100 B.C., for then the date of Kujūla, according to the Chinese sources

It must be admitted, however, that there is no evidence to support Tarn's idea; and the fact that Kujūla issued coins with the bust of a Roman emperor strengthens Bachhofer's view.

The large and widespread coinage of Hermaeus attests a substantial kingdom. But the suggestion once made that his rule extended even as far as the Jhelum[1] is doubtful.[2] It seemed incredible to Tarn that Hermaeus could have been strong enough to take Gandhāra from the Śakas,[3] but it is generally agreed that he ruled over the whole of the Paropamisadae.[4] That he still commanded some influence in isolated enclaves north of the Hindu Kush, at least in the beginning of his reign, is borne out by the testimony of a newly discovered Attic tetradrachm.[5] The remarkable treasure of Mir Zakah near Ghazni contained about 1,000 coins of Hermaeus,[6] and there is no doubt, therefore, that he ruled in Upper Arachosia contiguous to the Kabul valley. But the evidence is not so strong for his authority over Taxila or eastern Gandhāra. None of his silver money has been discovered in the Taxila excavations,[7] and 263 of his copper coins found there are of the type 'bust of king and Nike' bearing the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕωΣ ϹΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ and *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*, and 'were evidently not struck by Hermaeus but by one of the Śaka or Parthian rulers'.[8] Tarn has attributed them to Kujūla Kadphises and explained them as propaganda coins,[9] but Bachhofer has shown that this theory of Tarn is 'too subtle to be acceptable',[10] and Marshall has rightly noted[11] that 'the style of the engraving as well as the legends and monograms point to an earlier date'. There may be some truth, however, in the suggestion of Tarn that Hermaeus was in touch with the kingdom of Hippostratus, since he married Calliope, a princess in her own right '(who) can only have come

(which state that more than 100 years had passed after they totally occupied Bactria and divided the country into five *hsi-hou* when Kujūla set himself on the throne) would be in the first decade of the first century A.D. and thus he could very well have ruled up to A.D. 60.

[1] Gutschmid, p. 109; Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, p. 340.

[2] Marshall, *JRAS*, 1914, p. 981; Tarn, p. 337.

[3] Tarn, loc. cit.

[4] Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 560–2; Tarn, pp. 331 ff.

[5] Bivar, *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, May, 1954; Narain, *JNSI*, 1954, Pt. II, pp. 183 ff., Pls. II–III; *NNM(NSI)*, No. 3.

[6] Schlumberger, p. 79.

[7] Marshall, *Taxila*, ii. 764.

[8] Marshall, op. cit. ii. 764.

[9] Tarn, pp. 503 ff.

[10] *JAOS*, 1941, p. 240, and cf. *supra*, p. 158.

[11] Marshall, loc. cit.

from Hippostratus' kingdom'[1] because the joint-issues in the name of Hermaeus and Calliope bear the type of Hippostratus and Nicias, 'king on prancing horse'. It is probably his relationship with Hippostratus and his kingdom which accounts for the finds of Hermaeus' coins in the Mohmand border and near Peshawar;[2] it is also likely that before Hippostratus was overthrown by Azes I in Gandhāra he had entered into some alliance with Hermaeus against the common danger to which ultimately they succumbed.

Rapson's view[3] that the coins of Hermaeus 'extended over a long period' has generally been accepted,[4] and Bachhofer[5] admits that the portraits of Hermaeus 'permit one to follow him from youth to old age, though they gradually lose in quality'. It is fair to assume a reign of at least twenty years for him; his rule must have ended, therefore, in *c.* 55 B.C.

The conquerors of the Indo-Greek kingdom of the Paropamisadae were the Pahlavas and not the Kuṣāṇas.[6] According to Rapson[7] the evidence for this was 'the coins which were struck by Spalirises with the characteristic type of the Yavana kings of Kabul, "Zeus enthroned" ', and he thought that 'a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by (the Pahlavas) until a much later date, in the same way and for the same reasons that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam'. Tarn took this up and advanced the theory that it was Spalirises who put an end to Hermaeus' kingdom and that he conquered the Paropamisadae;[8] we must note, however, that Rapson, on whose idea this theory of Tarn is based,[9] does not commit himself to the theory that Spalirises conquered Hermaeus' kingdom. We have shown that it is not possible to support the view that Spalirises conquered the Paropamisadae,[10] and we must repeat that the 'enthroned Zeus' is not

[1] Tarn, p. 337. But the assertion of Tarn that Hermaeus did not use the type of 'king on prancing horse', which is based on *CHI*, p. 560, is wrong (cf. Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, p. 113), and Tarn, who accepts the mistake later in his Addenda, p. 535, maintains 'that Calliope must still have come from Hippostratus' kingdom, for there was nowhere else . . . and she was presumably Hippostratus' daughter'.

[2] *NC*, 1943, pp. 54, 59.

[3] *CHI* p. 561.

[4] Whitehead, *NC*, 1923, p. 340; Tarn, pp. 337, 350.

[5] *JAOS*, 1941, p. 239, fn.

[6] *Hou-Han Shu*, Bk. 88. Cf. *supra*, pp. 159–60.

[7] *CHI*, pp. 561–2.

[8] Tarn, pp. 347, 350.

[9] Tarn, p. 350, quotes Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 562, 574 as his authority.

[10] Cf. *supra*, pp. 153–4.

the type of Kabul,[1] and the fact that Spalirises used this type does not necessarily connect him with that region. The 'enthroned Zeus' was popular rather in Gandhāra than in Kāpiśa from the reign of Antialcidas onwards. Its use by Hermaeus probably indicates that he belonged to the family of Antialcidas. Spalirises' coins are not numerous, and 'Zeus enthroned' occurs only on his square copper money.[2] Marshall also finds difficulty in accepting this conclusion of Tarn, which implies 'that Spalirises, whose coins are not common even in Arachosia, and are not found at all at Taxila, reigned, nevertheless, longer than Hermaeus himself; and they imply also that Azes I could not have become "great king of kings" until some time after Hermaeus' death'.[3] There seems to be truth in the suggestion of Marshall that it was Azes I who 'actually annexed that country (Paropamisadae) after the downfall of Hermaeus'.[4] But the matter does not end here.

Cunningham asserted, on the basis of Masson's pioneer explorations, that not a single coin of Azes was obtained from Begram.[5] But Masson did in fact get coins of both Azes and Azilises at Begram. Among the two plates of coins of 'Azus' illustrating James Prinsep's paper,[6] some were definitely found by Masson. The name Azes was first read on a coin from Kabul,[7] and Masson himself found a coin of Azilises there.[8] In Masson's Second Memoir[9] we find mention not only of Azilises, but also of 'Azu' I and II; this was a remarkable anticipation. Whitehead, who cleared up this misapprehension about the distribution of the coins of the two Azes and Azilises,[10] has also noted that 'coins brought by J. Hackin from Begram were on view at the Musée Guimet, Paris, during the Oriental Congress of 1948; they included eleven large silver Azes, four of type Zeus Nikephorus, six Pallas to right [two with the same monograms as *PMC* p. 115, No. 154], and one Poseidon to right.'[11] Hackin's map showing the geographical distribution of coins also attests the presence of coins of Azes in the Kabul region.[12] And this, we are informed, is also the experience of Bivar, who has spent two seasons in Afghanistan.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

[2] *PMC*, p. 144.

[3] Marshall, op. cit. i. 51–52.

[4] Marshall, op. cit. i. 52.

[5] *JASB*, 1836, p. 547; Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, p. 8.

[6] *JASB*, 1835, p. 327, Pls. XXII–XXIII.

[7] Ibid., p. 343.

[8] *JASB*, 1836, p. 547.

[9] *JASB*, 1836, p. 19.

[10] *NC*, 1947, pp. 39–41; *NC*, 1950, pp. 206–7.

[11] *NC*, 1950, p. 207.

[12] cf. *JA*, 1935, p. 291.

But the coins of Azes are not as common and plentiful in the Kabul valley as they are in Arachosia (including Ghazni) and in Gandhāra (including Taxila). This indicates that Azes I did not rule in the Paropamisadae for the same long period as he did in Arachosia and Gandhāra. We may suppose, therefore, that Azes I conquered the Paropamisadae only after the death of Hermaeus in *c.* 55, and during the last years of his own reign, which probably did not end before *c.* 50 B.C.; because of his extensive coinage we must assign more than twenty years' rule to him. Azes' conquest of Paropamisadae took place after the conquest of Gandhāra, which, as we have shown earlier, occurred at the end of Hippostratus' reign in *c.* 70 B.C. This implies that Azes I followed the Kurram valley route[1] from Ghazni to Gandhāra. The coins of Hermaeus were found in large numbers in the Mir Zakah Treasure as well as those of Azes, which are found in thousands in Ghazni;[2] it is likely, therefore, that Azes took Upper Arachosia from Hermaeus, confining the latter to the Paropamisadae. Instead of attacking Hermaeus in the Paropamisadae, where he may have been strong, Azes I first took Gandhāra. Holding Ghazni in the south and Gandhāra in the east, Azes I could then easily take the Paropamisadae by a pincer movement. In the north Hermaeus had probably already lost his isolated enclaves to the Yüeh-chih, and thus we may imagine his kingdom in the Kabul valley as a forlorn island amidst the surrounding deluge of hostile powers. This reconstruction also explains the rarity of the money of the Pahlava predecessors of Azes I in the Kabul valley, to which we have referred earlier.

Thus Hermaeus was the last Indo-Greek king. With the end of his reign ended the story of 200 years in which there reigned thirty-nine kings and two queens. It is the story of the rise of an adventurous people to fill the vacuum created by the absence of a great power; when, in course of time, new peoples came on the scene, one had to give way to the other. The Yavanas, who were hemmed in from all sides, could not hold their own, and were doomed sooner or later to collapse. Their kingdom fell, and their proud ruling families merged with the mingled racial stocks of north-west India, until all traces of them were lost.

[1] Cf. Map No. III.

[2] Schlumberger, pp. 79–80.

APPENDIX I

YAVANA, YONA, YONAKA, ETC.

IT is clear from inscriptions of Darius I that the word *Yauna* or *Ia-ma-nu* (*-ma* was actually pronounced as *-va*, hence *Ia-va-nu*), the name of the Ionians of Asia Minor who were conquered by Cyrus in 545 B.C., was applied to all Greeks without distinction.[1] The Hebrew word *Yawān* (*Javan*) was also originally the designation of the Ionians, but it gradually came to be used for the whole Greek race, and the ethnic name denoted also a political entity.[2] The term *Yavana* may well have been first applied by the Indians to the Greeks of various cities of Asia Minor who were settled in the areas contiguous to north-west India.[3] The Yavanas were regarded by the law books and epics as degenerate Kṣatriyas,[4] and were considered to be of Indian origin, the descendants of Turvasu.[5] But their names alone are sufficient to prove that they were foreigners.[6]

The word *Yavana*, if it is assumed to be Indian, can be derived in three ways. Firstly, from √*yu* = 'keeping away', 'averting' (*dveṣo yavana*),[7] signifying one who is disliked. Secondly, from √*yu* 'mixing, mingling',[8] (i.e. *Yauti miśrayati vā miśrībhavati sarvattra jātibhedābhāvāt iti yavanaḥ*),[9] implying a mixed people. Thirdly, from the meaning, 'quick', 'swift'; a swift horse,[10] (i.e. *Yavena gacchatīti yavanaḥ*),[11] denoting those who have a quick mode of conveyance.[12] These derivations taken together may indicate that the Yavanas were thought of as a mixed people, who had a quick mode of conveyance and who were disliked as aliens and invaders;[13] these derivations are, however, comparatively recent.

[1] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 204; *CHI*, p. 540.

[2] C. C. Torrey, *JAOS* xxv. 302–11.

[3] Cf. *supra*, pp. 1 ff.; R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, 1874, p. 279, considered that it denoted a geographical term rather than an ethnical.

[4] Manu, x. 43–44; *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparva*), xii. 200.

[5] *Yadostu Yādavā jātās Turvasoryavanāḥ sutāḥ*: *Mahābhā*: *rata*, i. 80. 26.

[6] *CHI*, p. 540.

[7] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 848.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Rajendra Lal Mitra, *JASB*, 1874, p. 253.

[10] Monier Williams, loc. cit.

[11] K. R. Pisharoti, *IC* ii, 574.

[12] Cf. also *Harṣacarita* (ed. by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1909), p. 269: . . . *Yavananirmitena nabhastalayāyinā yantrayānena*. . . . Buddhaswamin's version of Somadeva (ed. F. Lacote, Paris, 1908), canto V, . . . *ākāśayantrāṇi punaryavanāḥ kila jānate*. . . .

[13] However, the Indians, on the other hand, also recognized the merits and accomplishments of the Yavanas; cf. remarks like *sarvajñā yavanāḥ* 'the all-knowing Yavanas', in *Mahābhārata* viii. 45. 36.

Of the Sanskrit *Yavana*, there are other forms and derivatives, viz., *Yona*,[1] *Yonaka*,[2] *Javana*,[3] *Yāvana*,[4] *Jonon* or *Jonaka*,[5] *Ya-ba-na*,[6] &c. *Yona* is a normal Prakrit form from *Yavana* and *ja-* is a well-known Prakritism for Sanskrit *ya-*.[7] Tarn has, however, tried to derive *Yonaka* independently from a form 'Ἰωνακός, which 'though unknown in Classical Greek, existed at this time in the current Hellenistic Greek of the Farther East'.[8] This is not only unconvincing but also unnecessary. It has been pointed out that it was a usual Indian practice to add *-ka* to ethnic names;[9] it is often expletive in Sanskrit. J. Gonda has rightly noted that 'as a means of forming thematic stems *-ka* was very productive and as such it was repeatedly used to aryanise foreign words or to make them fit to be inflected as Aryan nouns'.[10] But Tarn has not revised his opinion in the second edition of his book; he asks, 'why *before* the Greeks came, did Asoka call Greeks Yonas, while *after* they came, the Milinda calls them Yonakas?', although he admits that he probably went too far in speaking of the current Hellenistic Greek of the East.[11] His persistence is probably due to the fact that he imagines that the form *Yonaka* appears only in the *Milindapañha*,[12] and also because he does not suppose that the word *Yavana*, which would be its original form in Sanskrit, could have been known before Alexander, and long before the time of the Indo-Greek kingdoms.[13] But we have already shown that the

[1] Inscriptions of Aśoka, Rock Edicts II, V, XIII (Hultzsch, ciii. 2, 8, 23); Majjhima Nikāya, ii. 149; Dīpavaṁsa, viii. 9; Mahāvaṁsa, xii. 5 and xxix. 39; *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* ed. by Rapson, Boyer, and Stein: Oxford, 1920–9; cf. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1924, p. 672.

[2] *Milindapañha*, pp. 1, 3, 19–20, &c.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, xii. 4; *Dīpavaṁsa*, viii. 7.

[3] *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, p. 445 B; *Prajñapanā Sūtra*, p. 64. Cf. for other references from Jain Prakrit sources, *Abhidhāna-rājendra*, p. 1430.

[4] Egerton, *Buddhist Hybrid-Sanskrit Dictionary*, pp. 447–8.

[5] Pisharoti, *IC* ii. 574. *Jonon* or *Jonaka* is still in current use in the western coasts of India in the sense of a foreigner. In Tamil the form is *Coṇaka* and in Telugu it is *Dzonangi*.

[6] The Tibetan form.

[7] Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakritsprachen*, p. 175, § 252.

[8] Tarn, pp. 416–18. This view met full approval of Mrs. Bazin-Foucher, *JA*, 1938, p. 507.

[9] Johnston, *JRAS*, 1939, p. 226; Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 863; Tarn, Addenda (2nd edn.), p. 538, also admits that Profs. Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey told him of this usage in their letters; cf. also J. Gonda, *Mnemosyne*, 4th series, ii. 45–46. And cf. such examples as *Madraka, Kambojaka, Tāmraliptaka*, &c.

[10] Gonda, op. cit., has also given some Iranian examples of this usage. In OP the *Καρες* are called *Kṛkā* and for OP *Hindu* the MP is *Hindūk*.

[11] Tarn, Addenda, p. 538.

[12] Ibid., p. 416 and specially fn. 6.

[13] Ibid., p. 538, where he supposes that Aśoka used the word *Yona* before the Greeks came. He ignores the possibility that the word could have been derived from *Yavana*, a form already known to Pāṇini, cf. also *supra*, p. 1.

form *Yonaka* does occur in other places in Pāli literature of known antiquity,[1] and not only in works like *Sāsanavaṁsa*, of the modernity of which Tarn rightly complains,[2] and so it is not peculiar to *Milindapañha*. And, further, *Yonaka* does not replace *Yavana* or *Yona*, but is just one of its various forms, all of which, even Sanskrit *Yavana*, are used indiscriminately in Pāli sources.[3] Quite pertinently Gonda answers Tarn's query by pointing out that it is equally difficult to settle why one author used the name *Madraka* and why another preferred *Madra*.[4]

Tarn has also suggested that the term *Yonaka* in the *Milindapañha* has a specific meaning; that 'they are really his Council—the ordinary council of every Hellenistic king, which in another aspect was his "Friends"—is not in doubt; the number 500 is of course conventional. . . .'[5] It is true that numbers such as 500 in the Pāli works are almost invariably used conventionally, but it is surely too much to think that the *Yonaka* meant ministers or councillors.[6] Not to speak of references in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa*—where the word is explicitly used as an adjective of names and places, even in the *Milindapañha*, part I, on this assumption what can be the meaning of . . . *atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalannāmā nagaraṃ* . . .?[7] Surely Sāgala was not a city of the ministers or councillors, who opened their bags of merchandise. Then we read of statues of Yonakas, holding lamps, among the decorations used by the Sākyans in Kapilavatthu,[8] and also of the Yonakas who went about clad in white robes because of the memory of religion which was once prevalent in their homeland.[9] Moreover, in the *Milindapañha*,

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 166. For dates cf. B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, 2 vols., London, 1933.

[2] He notes, p. 418, '. . . not the only time in this period that a modern work has been quoted by somebody as ancient authority'.

[3] We have already given references to *Yona* and *Yonaka*; for *Yavana* cf. *Milindapañha*, pp. 327, 331. For indiscriminate use cf. the following instances: *Yonalokaṃ* and *Yonakalokaṃ* (*Mahāvaṁsa*, xii. 5 and *Dīpavaṁsa*, viii. 9); *Yona Mahādhammarakkhita* and *Yonaka Dhammarakkhita*, names of the *Thera* (*Mahāvaṁsa*, xxix. 39 and *Dīpavaṁsa*, viii. 7). The three forms, *Yavana, Yona, Yonaka*, are all used in the inscriptions found in western India, e.g. Nasik, Junnar, Karle, &c.; cf. Otto Stein, *IC* i. 343 ff., who collects all references to Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions.

[4] J. Gonda, op. cit., p. 47.

[5] Tarn, p. 418; cf. also p. 267.

[6] Cf. also Gonda, loc. cit. Even if we believe with Tarn that the author of *Milindapañha* knew some Greek and had adequate knowledge of 'the Council of the Yonakas', it is very curious to know that this council was called in Greek by that name.

[7] *Milindapañha*, p. 1.

[8] *Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (Āluvihāra series, Colombo), ii. 575. *teste* Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, ii. 699. We have been unable to find this reference in the PTS edition.

[9] *Anguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (*Manorathapūraṇī*), S.H.B. edn., i. 51; . . . *Kassapadasabalassa kira kālato paṭṭhāya Yonakānaṃ, setavatthaṃ pārapitvā caraṇaṃ carittaṃ*. . . .

Part I, we find the ministers referred to by the usual word *amacce*, when the king addresses them.[1] Thus *Yonaka* is only a variant of *Yavana-Yona* with the same meaning. To find in it the hypothetical Hellenistic *'Ιωνακός* is unwarranted and unnecessary. One may rather agree with Gonda, that 'the form Yonaka may be considered as an Indian and Iranian derivative, and the Hellenistic Greek of Bactria etc. will have taken it from these languages'.[2]

The earliest Indian form known is *Yavana*, attested in Pāṇinī.[3] It was suggested by Belvalkar that the word *Yavana*, where *-va* stands for an original Greek ϝ, must be at least as old as the ninth century B.C., because the digamma was lost as early as 800 B.C.[4] But, as Skold has pointed out,[5] the digamma was dropped at different times in different dialects; in the Ionian dialect it may perhaps have vanished only a short time before the earliest inscriptions, which are of the seventh or perhaps the eighth century B.C.[6] It is very difficult, however, to say whether the Indians took the word *Yavana* directly from the Greeks or from some intermediate language. It is necessary here to consider the forms used in the trilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenids, namely: (i) the old Persian, *Yauna*; (ii) the Elamite, *ia-u-na*; and (iii) the Akkadian (Babylonian), *ia-ma-nu*.[7] It has sometimes been thought that the Prakrit form *Yona* was derived from the Old Persian *Yauna*, that it was an earlier form than the Sanskrit *Yavana*, and that the latter is a back-formation in Sanskrit.[8] But there is no need for this supposition, since the Sanskrit form could very well have been derived from the Akkadian *ia-ma-nu*. It is well known that in the Akkadian version of the Achaemenid inscriptions *-ma* stands for *-va*, according to a peculiar sound-law, or perhaps an orthographical rule,[9] and there are numerous examples of this phenomenon.[10] Thus the Akkadian form *ia-ma-nu* presupposes the form with the digamma *'Ιάϝων*, whereas the former must be traced back to *'Ιάονες* where the digamma is dropped. This is also the case with Hebrew *Yāwān*.[11] Hence there is no warrant for taking *Yona* as an earlier form. One might conclude from the correspondence of O.P. *Yauna*–M.I.A. *Yona*, that there existed an old form *Yona* older

[1] *Milindapañha*, p. 19: *atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etadavoca. . . .*
[2] J. Gonda, op. cit. [3] *Pāṇinī*, 4. 1. 49.
[4] S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 17.
[5] Hannes Skold, *Papers on Pāṇini and Indian Grammar in General*, p. 25.
[6] Ibid.
[7] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 204; H. C. Toleman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 119.
[8] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, ii. 863.
[9] Skold, op. cit., p. 25.
[10] e.g. *Darayavaus = Da-ri-ia-mus*, *Vidarna = U-mi-da-ar-na*, *Vivāna = U-mi-ma-na*. Cf. Kent, op. cit., under different heads.
[11] C. C. Torrey, *JAOS* xxv (1904), 302 ff.

than *Yavana*. But this equivalence of sounds applies to inherited words coming independently from an Indo-Iranian source, which *Yavana* is not, being a loan word. At best one can say that both *Yavana* and *Yona* are borrowed from the West, i.e. the Persians and the Semitic peoples. But historically the first known form in extant Indian literature is *Yavana* and not *Yona*, and *Yona* can be a normal Prakrit replacement of the Sanskrit *Yavana*.[1] Of course the possibility is not excluded that the immediate source of the word may have been the Greeks, including the Ionians, who were already settled in regions to which Pāṇini's knowledge could have very easily extended. We have shown that settlements of Greeks existed in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire long before Alexander.[2]

[1] Curiously in a *Mahābhārata* passage (Poona edn., vol. xv, *Śāntiparvan*, xii. 200. 40) the form *Yauna* occurs: . . . *Yauna-Kāmboja-Gāndhārāḥ kirātā barbaraiḥ*. . . . But in footnote the variant readings from two manuscripts give *Hūṇa*.
[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 2–6.

APPENDIX II

SERES AND PHRYNI

It is generally agreed that Apollodorus' work is rather too early for the term Seres, used therein, to denote the Chinese.[1] Pliny has preserved a notice of the Seres which has nothing to do with China; he mentions them as a very tall race with red hair and blue eyes, living north of the *montes Hemodes* (Himalayas).[2] It has been supposed that the Seres of Apollodorus and Pliny are connected, and that they should be located somewhere in the Tarim basin.[3] Hennig identified the blonde Seres of Pliny with the Tochari.[4] Tarn commends the view of Herrmann that Pliny's Seres might be the Wu-sun, or that section of the Tochari-Yüeh-chih who had remained behind in the Wu-sun country.[5] But as to the Seres of Apollodorus, both Herrmann and Tarn prefer to regard them as middlemen for the Chinese trade who dwelt near Issyk-köl.[6] The Phryni (Phuni, Phruri), too, are difficult to locate. For some time the common view has been that they were the Hsiung-nu.[7] But Tarn and Altheim have both strongly rejected this theory,[8] although they are unable to offer a certain alternative; they seem to regard Phryni either as a general term for the peoples of the Kashgar-Yarkand or the Khotan country,[9] or simply as peoples of eastern Turkestan.[10] Cunningham had made a plausible suggestion about these people.[11] He noted that instead of *Σήρων* some manuscripts read *Σύρων*, which he believed to be the true reading, and the equivalent of which he found in Su-le, the old Chinese name of Kashgar.[12] Similarly, he took the Phryni (Phuni, Phruri, &c.) as identical with Phu-li. It appears that the people mentioned by Cunningham are the P'u-li of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, who are described as 500 *li* south of Su-le, and who have been located near Tashkurgan, a

[1] Herrmann, *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antiken* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 27 f.; Tarn, p. 110; Altheim, i. 347–8.
[2] Pliny, vi. 88.
[3] Herrmann, loc. cit.; Tarn, p. 111.
[4] *Z. F. Rassenkunde*, ii (1935), 90, *teste* Tarn, p. 110.
[5] Herrmann, op. cit., p. 28; Tarn, loc. cit.
[6] Herrmann, op. cit., pp. 27 f.; Tarn, loc. cit. A. Berthelot seemingly located Pliny's Seres in Siberia; cf. *L'Asia ancienne centrale et sud-Orientale d'après Ptolemée* (Paris, 1930), p. 239.
[7] Herrmann, loc. cit.; Namio Egami, *Eurasia Kodai Hoppo Bunka* (2nd edn., 1950), pp. 334–5.
[8] Tarn, p. 84; Altheim, p. 348–9; also E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), p. 20.
[9] Tarn, p. 85.
[10] Altheim, p. 349.
[11] Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 148–9.
[12] Wylie, p. 48.

little west of Yarkand, on the direct route from Kashgar to Gilgit.[1] Since the Seres and the Phryni appear to have inhabited contiguous areas, their identification with Su-le and P'u-li[2] (Kashgar and the area near Tashkurgan) may be considered likely. Kashgar was an important city on the route between China, on the one hand, and the 'western regions', on the other; it may well be regarded as the door to China, and from Kashgar, according to the Chinese historian Pan-ku, 'the road to the Ta-Yüeh-chih, Ta-wan and K'ang-kiu lies direct to the West'.[3] It is not improbable, therefore, that the name Seres, which was first given to Kashgar (Su-lo, Su-le, Sha-lo),[4] was later applied to the whole of China, just as the name Chi-pin came to denote in course of time the whole of Kashmir, and in some cases probably the whole of the Kuṣāṇa empire.[5] The name India itself is such an example.

[1] Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstraßen zwischen China und Syrien* (Berlin, 1910), map.
[2] Shiratori also had favoured this identification (on Prof. Enoki's authority).
[3] Wylie, p. 48.
[4] Cf. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Harvard, 1935.
[5] *Supra*, pp. 135–6.

APPENDIX III

SĀGALA

SĀGALA, where King Milinda is said to have ruled, has been identified with Sialkot in the Rechna Doab by J. F. Fleet, who combined the evidence of the epics with that of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang. It is often difficult to locate places from the topographical data of Hsüan Tsang, and Fleet could only arrive at the identification by making substantial assumptions and allowances;[1] other scholars on the strength of the same evidence had already placed Sākala (Sāgala) elsewhere.[2] It has been noted that this famous city, this great centre of trade, a capital of Menander and Mihirakula, should have left mounds and coins on a scale comparable with those of Taxila; whereas Sialkot is neither a notable archaeological site nor a great source of ancient coins.[3] It is by no means certain that the name Sialkot is derived from Sākala or Sāgala. According to Whitehead there is no site in the Rechna Doab of sufficient prominence to suggest that it was Menander's official capital and principal mint; Sākala was probably a 'cold weather station' but his metropolis was in the uplands of the Kabul valley, probably at Kāpiśī.[4] Allan agrees with the view of Whitehead and remarks that Sialkot has not produced the coins of Menander one would expect from his capital.[5] Moreover, if we are to attribute any significance to the description of Milinda's capital in the Pāli text,[6] it suggests that it should be sought in the hills rather than in the plains.[7] It seems to us that Sāgala of the *Milindapañha* and Sākala the town of the Madra country are not necessarily identical. The location of the Madra country is itself uncertain[8] but, assuming that it is in the Rechna Doab and the two Sākalas are the same, it is strange that Sāgala should be referred to as the city of the Yonakas, for at no stage of Indo-Greek history is there any justification for calling the land between the Chenab and Ravi *Yonaka-deśa* or *Yavana-dvīpa*—as Paropamisadae or even Gandhāra and Udyāna might justifiably have

[1] Fleet, *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Algier*, 1905, pp. 164–76. It depends on certain identifications being correct, and the distance involved in the route followed by Hsüan Tsang.

[2] Cunningham identified it with Sānglawāla Tiba, cf. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* (ed. by S. N. Majumdar Sastri), pp. 206 ff.

[3] Whitehead, *NC*, 1950, p. 212.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, p. 863.

[6] '*Taṁyathānusūyate. Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalannāma nagaraṃ nadīpabbatasobhitaṃ ramaṇīyabhūmippadesabhāgaṃ* . . . (*Milindapañha*, p. 1).

[7] Allan, op. cit., p. 863.

[8] V. S. Agrawala, *IHQ*, 1953, p. 17.

been called; the archaeological evidence would, in our opinion, favour Udyāna as the right place. The two Bajaur hoards[1] and the Yaghistan find,[2] all in the Swat region, consisted predominantly of the coins of Menander in almost mint condition, and the only inscription which mentions Menander has been found in the same area;[3] the Swat relic vase of the Meridarch Theodorus[4] and the Bajaur seal of Theodamus[5] are further indications pointing to the same conclusion.

[1] *NS*, xl (1926–7), 18–21; *JNSI*, 1942, p. 61; *NC*, 1947, pp. 141–5.

[2] *NC*, 1923, p. 313.

[3] The Bajaur casket inscription, *Ep. Ind.* xxiv. 1–8.

[4] Konow, *CII*, p. 1.

[5] Ibid., p. 6. A group of other small epigraphs, e.g. Taxila copper plate inscription of a Meridarch (p. 4), Tirath, Swat, and Saddo rock inscriptions (pp. 8, 9), mentioned in *CII* by Sten Konow, also belong to the same region.

APPENDIX IV

NOTES ON THE *YUGA PURĀṆA*

In the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, a work on astrology, is a section named the *Yuga Purāṇa*,[1] which contains some historical information, including among other matters the story of the attack on Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra in which the Yavanas took part. Scholars are almost unanimous in regarding the *Yuga Purāṇa* as the earliest among the extant works of Purāṇa type, and as exhibiting an independent tradition.[2] It is also thought that the existing text, in Sanskrit with traces of Prakritism, goes back to an historical chronicle written either in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit-Prakrit, which Jayaswal dates in the latter half of the first century B.C.—and this has not been questioned.[3] Since its publication the *Yuga Purāṇa* has always been used as one of the sources of Indo-Greek history.

In 1865 Kern first published three excerpts from a manuscript of the *Yuga Purāṇa* in his possession (henceforward referred to as K);[4] these three excerpts are the lines 80–97, 113–17, and 124–9 of the complete text as now available from Mankad's edition.[5] These lines were reprinted by Weber[6] and were used by Sylvain Lévi[7] and Cunningham[8] in their works connected with the Indo-Greeks. In 1914 Jayaswal found a manuscript of the *Yuga Purāṇa* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (henceforward referred to as A) and published his results,[9] but it was only in 1928, when he obtained another manuscript in Banaras Government Sanskrit College (henceforward referred to as B), that he finally edited the texts with his notes and translation;[10] in 1929 Jayaswal again published a list of variant readings from a Paris manuscript (henceforward referred to as P)[11] sent him by Sylvain Lévi with the latter's marginal notes, but Jayaswal's earlier edition was not modified. In 1930 Dhruva reconstructed the whole of Jayaswal's texts with liberal alteration of proper names and, as he admits, free use of conjecture and

[1] Kern, *The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, Preface, pp. 35–40; Jayaswal, *JBORS*. xiv. 397–421; xv. 129–35; Mankad, *JUPHS* xx. 32–48, and his later monograph *Yugapurāṇam*.

[2] J. F. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1914, p. 795, called it historically worthless, but gave no reasons.

[3] Jayaswal, *JBORS* xiv. 399.

[4] Kern, loc. cit.

[5] The text as printed consists of 235 lines or 117½ verses in all. Cf. Mankad, *Yugapurāṇam*, p. 3.

[6] *Indische Studien*, xiii (1873), 306.

[7] *Quid de Graecis*, p. 17.

[8] *CASE*, pp. 262–3.

[9] *Express*, Patna, 1914 (I have not been able to see this; cf. however, *JBORS*, 1928, p. 397).

[10] *JBORS* xiv. 397–421.

[11] Ibid. xv. 129–35.

inference.[1] This was certainly not an edition of the text of the *Yuga Purāṇa* and hence we have not considered it seriously for our purposes. Barua also made an attempt at reconstruction in the case of few lines only.[2] However, the text as prepared and edited by Jayaswal was used by all students until in 1949 Mankad published a critical edition of the *Yuga Purāṇa* with the help of a new manuscript (which he called C, and which will henceforward be referred to as such).

The purpose of this present note is a comparative study of the printed editions of the text in order to make the best use of it; we propose to re-edit the few relevant lines,[3] and not to reconstruct them with surmises as was done by Dhruva.[4]

Out of the five manuscripts used hitherto K is now lost,[5] and of the remaining four, A, B, and P come from eastern India, whereas C alone comes from western India. Textually A and P seem to form one group, and B and C another. The readings in A and P are inferior to those found in B and C, and between B and C those found in C are often superior.[6] The text as published by Mankad seems to be complete and contains 235 lines, while that edited by Jayaswal contained only the lines 73–186 of Mankad's version.

Jayaswal read lines 94–95 as follows:[7]

Tataḥ Sāketamākramya Pañcālān Mathurāṃ tathā
Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntā(ḥ) prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajaṃ.

Taking the first line, all the four manuscripts A, B, C, and P read *Pañcālā Māthurā* in place of *Pañcālān Mathurāṃ*, which is adopted by Jayaswal on the basis of K alone. Jayaswal adopted this because in his opinion the other alternative would mean that the Yavanas came from Pañcāla and Mathurā, and because in some later lines the Yavanas are given prominence.[8] Both these reasons are unjustifiable. It is not clear how the adoption of the alternative indicates that the Yavanas were from Pañcāla and Mathurā. And the discovery of more manuscripts shows that in later lines also the variant *Pañcālā* for *Yavanā* exists.[9] More over, it would be very natural for the Yavanas to receive undue prominence in the account, since they must have been quite conspicuous, because this was probably the first time that a Greek army penetrated as far east as Pāṭaliputra; this was probably also the reason why Patañjali chose that event for the illustration of a grammatical rule. Jayaswal's authority for

[1] Ibid. xvi. 18–66.

[2] *Calcutta Review*, April, 1945, pp. 24–25.

[3] i.e. lines 94–95 and lines 111–22 of Mankad's version (which are Jayaswal's 22–23 and 40–41).

[4] *JBORS* xvi. 18–66.

[5] L. D. Barnett informed Tarn; cf. Tarn, p. 453.

[6] Mankad, op. cit., pp. 2, 3.

[7] *JBORS* xiv. 402.

[8] Ibid.

[9] e.g. the Paris (P) MS. has *Pañcālā* in place of *Yavanā* in line 112.

his adoption of *Pañcālān Mathurām* is Kern's reading, but Kern's version is not a critical edition, and we have no means of reconstructing his manuscript. His quotation of the few lines of the *Yuga Purāṇa* which he rightly thought of historical importance *may* have been a restored version on the basis of the knowledge then available; the famous examples of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* were well known, but the importance of the numismatic evidence concerning the Pañcāla and Mathurā kingdoms was not realized. We should not therefore give the same weight to Kern's readings as we should to those of later editors, especially since other manuscripts are available and all of them go in this particular against Kern, whose manuscript copy of the *Purāṇa* is unfortunately lost. Once the importance of the coinage of the Pañcālas and Mathurā is recognized[1] and the best reading of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, based on all the available manuscripts, is accepted, we can immediately explain the significance of the occurrence of two kings with *-mitra* name-endings in the inscriptions on the railings of Bodh Gaya,[2] as well as the discovery of the Mitra coins in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra.[3] If we adopt the unanimous verdict of the surviving manuscripts, the apparent geographical anomaly of the passage as edited by Jayaswal, which describes the Yavanas, after having conquered Sāketa (*Sāketamākramya*), as attacking the Pañcālas and Mathurā in order to reach Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra), will disappear, and the text may be reasonably interpreted as implying that the Pañcālas and Māthuras with the Yavanas (*Yavanāśca*), after having attacked Sāketa, reached Kusumadhvaja. And accepting *suvikrāntāḥ* from MS. C in place of *duṣṭavikrāntāḥ* in the next line, we read with Mankad:

Tataḥ Sāketamākramya Pañcālā Māthurā(s)tathā
Yavanāśca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam.

The two lines which follow are edited by Jayaswal as:

Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardama prathite hite
Ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ.

The phrase *kardama prathite hite* is difficult to understand. Kern put queries on the words *kardama* and *hita*',[4] but Jayaswal translated the phrase in the sense of 'mud-fortification' taking the word *hite* to stand for embankment or dyke, after the phrase *hitābhaṅge* in Manu ix. 274.[5] Mankad, however, pointed out that the word meaning embankment is

[1] Cf. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, s.v. Mathurā and Pañcāla. Cf. *supra*, pp. 86 ff.
[2] *JRAS*, 1908, p. 1096. Cf. *supra*, p. 86.
[3] *ASR*, 1912–13, pp. 79, 84–85. Cf. *supra*, p. 86.
[4] Kern, op. cit., p. 37.
[5] Jayaswal, *JBORS* xiv. 417. The commentary of Kullūka says *hitābhaiṅge jalasetubhaiṅge iti kullūkabhaṭṭaḥ.*

hitā and not *hita* in Manu, and therefore in his edition he read *hi* and *te* separately, taking *te* as qualifying *viṣayāḥ* in l. 97.[1] But *te* seems to us quite redundant in this case, especially when we have *sarve* following *viṣayāḥ* in l. 97 itself. We are inclined, therefore, to accept Jayaswal's interpretation of *hite*. The word *hita* can mean, 'put', 'placed', 'laid upon', 'imposed', 'set up', 'established', 'fixed', 'arranged', 'prepared', &c., and its feminine form is *hitā*.[2] *Hita* can mean any structure which has been 'laid upon', 'imposed', 'set up', 'established'; and obviously the word *hitā* in Manu is related to *hita*, of which it is the feminine form. And since the word *kardama* is there to guide us, it can only refer to a structure made of mud or clay. *Hita* probably meant a large embankment and *hitā* a small one; the reference in Manu is to village embankments,[3] and naturally therefore *hitā* is used. The embankments of Pāṭaliputra, the capital city, must have been big structures, and that is probably why the author uses another adjective, *prathite*, i.e. 'celebrated', 'famous', to denote the great mud fortifications of Pāṭaliputra. The defence of the capital city depended much upon those fortifications, and naturally, when the invaders reached it or took possession of it, all the districts (*viṣayāḥ*) became confused and disordered (*ākulāḥ*). Making a minor modification in Jayaswal's text we propose to read:

Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite.

Lastly, Jayaswal reads line 111 as follows:

Dharmamīta tamā-vṛddhā janaṃ bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ.

He translated the passage as, 'The Tamā-elders of Dharmamīta (Demetrius) will fearlessly devour the people'.[4] Neither this reading of the text nor Jayaswal's translation of it are convincing. We have shown that there are no grounds for taking *Dharmamīta* as Demetrius.[5] And *-tamā*, which is attached to the first word of the line in all manuscripts, is surely the superlative suffix of the first word, and should not be taken as compounded with *vṛddhā*, in which case the meaning of *-tamā* is doubtful.[6] Though *dharmamīta* might mean 'one whose *dharma* is destroyed or diminished' (from √*mī*), it seems quite an unusual expression. On the other hand, Mankad's adoption of the reading *dharmabhītatamā* from MS. C in place of *dharmamītatamā* seems quite feasible,

[1] Mankad, op. cit., p. 48.
[2] Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), p. 1298.
[3] Manu, ix. 274.
grāmaghāte hitābhaṅge pathi moṣābhidarśane
śaktito nābhidhāvanto nirvāsyāḥ saparicchadāḥ.

[4] Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 411.
[5] Cf. *supra*, pp. 40–41.
[6] Cf. *supra*, p. 41.

since the confusion between *ma* and *bha* is very common in manuscripts. Moreover, whichever reading is preferred, it must certainly be taken as qualifying *vṛddhā*, and the line will then imply either that the elders, whose *dharma* would be completely destroyed, or who would become too timid to proclaim *dharma*, would fearlessly rule the people. Obviously this line must be taken with the preceding verses of the *Yuga Purāṇa* where the confusion in all regions consequent on the invasion of Pāṭaliputra is described in the most conventional way. We propose to read the l. 111 as:

dharmabhītatamā vṛddhā janaṃ bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ.

Line 112 is read by Jayaswal as:

Yavanā jñāpayiṣyanti (naṣyeran) ca pārthivāḥ;

and by Mankad as:

Yavanā jñāpayiṣyanti nagareyaṃ ca (nagare pañca ?) pārthivāḥ.

It was translated by Jayaswal as, 'the Yavanas will command, the kings will disappear', and by Mankad as, 'the Yavanas will declare five kings in the city'. Both these versions are strained and unconvincing. In the first version it is not clear whom and what the Yavanas commanded or proclaimed, and the word *naṣyeran* in parentheses, which is a conjectural restoration, seems out of place here. In the second version it is not clear why *five* kings were declared by the Yavanas, when Mankad himself supports the reading which suggests a three-power attack on Pāṭaliputra. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that the Yavanas were the leading power among those who invaded Pāṭaliputra. It is worth noting that the Paris MS. has *Pañcālā* in place of *Yavanā*, and if we give any weight to the finds of Pañcāla Mitra coins in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and Magadha as against a total absence of Yavana coins, there is no reason why the reading *Pañcālā* should not be preferred as against *Yavanā*. Further, MSS. A, B, and P all have *kṣāpayiṣyanti* in place of *jñāpayiṣyanti*; and *nagareyaṃ*, which makes no sense, must be considered a mistake for *nagaraṃ ye* on the part of the scribe, who transposed the *anusvāra* of one and the medial *e* of the other, which is not an unusual error. Thus the reading we would suggest is:

Pañcālā kṣāpayiṣyanti nagaraṃ ye ca pārthivāḥ.

And this would give quite pertinently the meaning that the Pañcālas and those other kings (who participated in the invasion) destroyed the city.

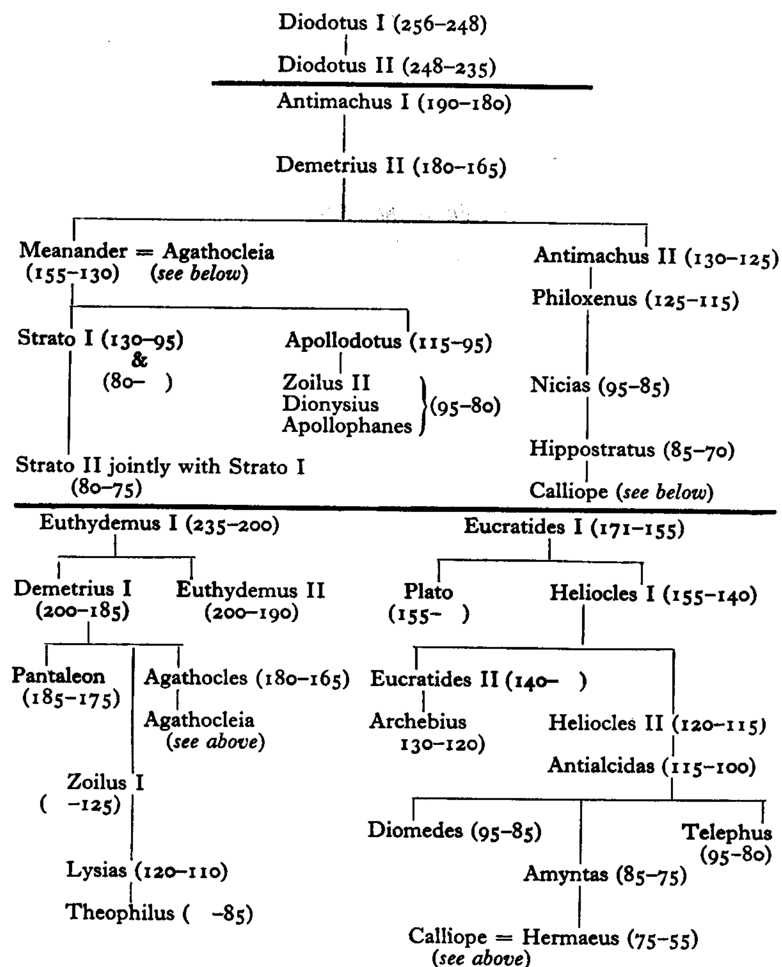
It is interesting to note the three lines which follow:

Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā (or Pañcālā) yuddhadurmadāḥ
teṣāmanyonyasaṁbhāvādbhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ
ātmacakrotthitaṃ ghoraṃ yuddhaṃ paramadāruṇaṃ.

Usually it has been understood that these lines refer to an internal struggle of the Indo-Greek families and the suggestion has been made that the struggle between the family of Eucratides and Euthydemus is implied. But we have shown that the old division of the Yavana kings into two families alone does not solve our problems, and in view of our study of the earlier passages of the *Yuga Purāṇa* it is needless to support the usual view. These lines in our opinion refer to the mutual feud which resulted in a deadly war between the invaders who participated in the attack on Pāṭaliputra.

A CHART SHOWING THE INDO-GREEK KINGS IN GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT

N.B. *The relationships and dates given below are based on the conclusions reached in this work. All dates are approximate and many are hypothetical.*



Relationship uncertain: Polyxenus, Epander, Artemidorus, and Peucolaus.
(–130) (–130) (–95) (–95)

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* I have used a new translation made for me by Professor Kazuo Enoki.

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Yuga purāṇa. See s. v. JAYASWAL and MANKAD.

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9. AR. A coin of Demetrius II:
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   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ
   below—ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
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   Legend in Kharoṣṭhī:
   top—*Maharajasa apadihatasa*
   below—*Dimetriyasa*
   BM.
10. Æ. The rev. of a coin of Antimachus I:
   Winged thunderbolt.
   Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ H. de S. Shortt.
11. Æ. The rev. of a coin of Demetrius II:
   Winged thunderbolt.
   Legend in Kharoṣṭhī:
   r. *Maharajasa*
   top—*Apadihatasa*
   l.—*Dimetriyasa*
   BM.



COINS OF THE DIODOTI, EUTYDEMUS I, DEMETRIUS I, ANTI-MACHUS I, AND DEMETRIUS II

PLATE II

1. Æ. Commemorative coin of Eucratides I:
   Obv: Conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodice to r.
   Legend: top—ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ
   below—ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ
   Rev: Helmeted undraped bust of Eucratides I turned to l., hurling spear.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ
   below—ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ
   Hirsch Sale Catalogue
2. Æ. Diademed bust of Heliocles I. BM.
3. Æ. A coin of Plato:
   Obv: Diademed bust of Plato to r.
   Rev: Mithra (Helios?) driving a quadriga to r.
   Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ
   below—ΜΗ
4. Æ. Diademed bust of Heliocles II to r.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
   below—ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ
5. Æ. Diademed bust of Eucratides II to r. BM.
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7. Æ. Attic tetradrachm of Menander:
   Obv: Diademed bust of Menander to r.
   Rev: Pallas hurling thunderbolt to l., aegis on outstretched l. arm.
   Legend: r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
   l. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ Aziz-beglou
8. Æ. A coin of Menander:
   Obv: Helmeted head of Menander to r.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
   below—MENANΔROY
   Rev: King on a prancing horse to r.
   Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa dhramikasa*
   below—*Menadrasa*
   Whiteking Sale Catalogue



COINS OF EUCRATIDES I, HELIOCLES I, PLATO, EUCRATIDES II, HELIOCLES II, AND MENANDER

PLATE III

1. Æ. The obv. of a joint-coin of Strato I and Agathocleia: Conjugate bust of Strato I and Agathocleia to r.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ
   below—ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ BM.

2–12. Æ. Diademed and helmeted busts of Strato I showing him at different ages.
   Legends vary.
   Nos. 7–12 are enlarged. BM.


1


2


3


4


5


6


7


8


9


10


11


12

THE JOINT-COIN OF AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO I AND COINS OF STRATO I

PLATE IV

1–4. AR. The rev. of the coins of Antialcidas showing Zeus, Nike, and elephant.
Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa jayadharasa*
below—*Antialikitasa* BM.

1. showing a wreath in the hand of Nike as well as in the trunk of the elephant.
2. No Nike. Zeus himself holding out wreath and palm; elephant to r.
3. No Nike. Zeus himself holding out wreath and palm; elephant shown vertically.
4. Zeus walking by the side of an elephant; Nike on the head of the elephant.

5. Æ. A coin of Apollodotus:
Obv: Apollo standing to r. holding arrow; all enclosed in wreath.
Legend: l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
r. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ
Rev: Tripod.
Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa tratarasa*
below—*Apaladatasa* BM.

6. AR. A coin of Apollodotus:
Obv: Diademed bust of Apollodotus to r.
Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗ-ΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
below—ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ
Rev: Pallas to l. hurling thunderbolt; aegis on l. arm.
Legend: in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa tratarasa*
below—*Apaladatasa* BM.

7. AR. A coin of Hippostratus:
Obv: Diademed bust of Hippostratus to r.
Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
below—ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
Rev: King on a prancing horse to r.
Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa tratarasa jayatasa*
below—*Hipustratasa* BM.

8. AR. Rev. of a coin of Eucratides (III?): the Kavisiye nagara coin.
Female deity with turreted crown seated on throne. In her r. outstretched hand an unidentified object. l. an elephant paying obeisance to the deity, r. a mountain or *caitya*.
Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: r. *Kaviśiye*
top—*nagara*
l. *devata* BM.

9. Æ. A coin of Eucratides (III?) of the type of No. 8, overstruck on a coin of Apollodotus:
Obv: Helmeted bust of king to r.
Legend: l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
top—ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
r. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ
Traces of understrike visible.
Rev: Same as No. 8, but traces of the understrike visible. Note especially —*datasa* on top (a portion of *Apaladatasa* in Kharoṣṭhī). In the original coin even *Apala*— can be read. BM.



COINS OF ANTIALCIDAS, APOLLODOTUS, HIPPOSTRATUS, AND EUCRATIDES (III?)

PLATE V

1. Æ. A double-decadrachm of Amyntas:
   Obv: Helmeted bust of Amyntas to r.
   Rev: Zeus enthroned, holding Pallas on r. outstretched hand, and sceptre and palm in l. hand.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ
   below—ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ

   Kabul Museum
   ex Qunduz

2. Æ. The rev. of a coin of Amyntas:
   Same type as the rev. of No. 1, but note the monogram.
   Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: top—*Maharajasa jayadharasa*
   below—*Amitasa* BM.

3. Æ. Attic tetradrachm of Hermaeus:
   Obv: Diademed bust of Hermaeus to r.
   Rev: Enthroned Zeus holding sceptre in l. and an unidentified object in r. hand.
   Legend: top—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
   below—ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ Kabul Museum
   ex Qunduz



1 obv.



3 obv.



2



3 rev.

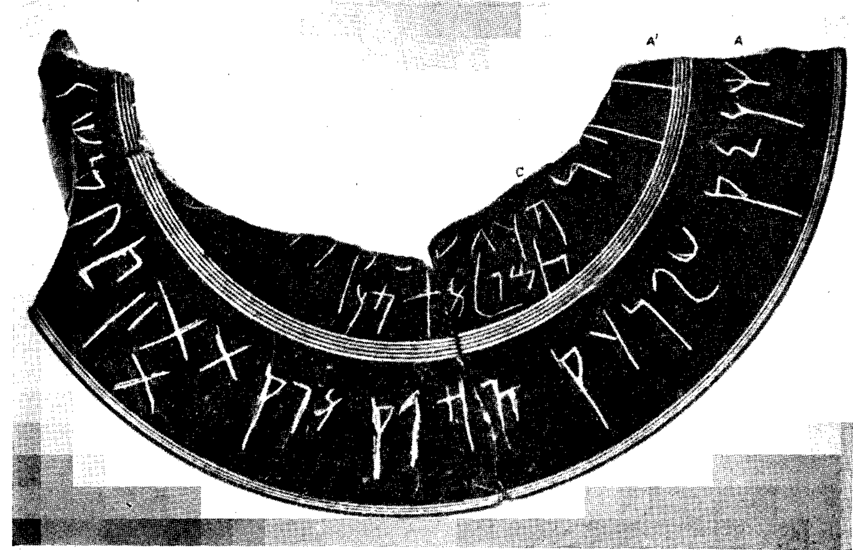


1 rev.

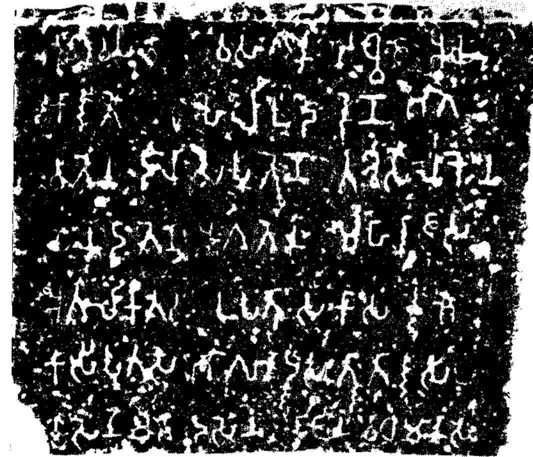
COINS OF AMYNTAS AND HERMAEUS

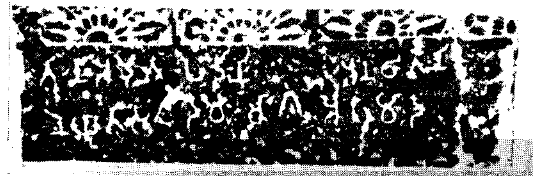
PLATE VI

1. The Bajaur casket inscription of the reign of Menander.
   Text (in Kharoṣṭhī):
   A. . . . *Minedrasa maharajasa Kaṭiasa divasa 4 4 4 1 1 pra[ṇa]—sameda*
   A. . . [*pra*] [*thavi*]*ta*.
   Translation:
   A. . . . On the 14th day of Kārttika, in the [reign] of Mahārāja Minedra, [in the year . . . .], [the corporeal relic of the Buddha], which is endowed with life . . .
   A. . . has been established.
2. The Heliodorus inscription on the Besnagar pillar.
   Text (in Brāhmī):
   Lines 1. [*De*]*vadevasa Vā*[*sude*]*vasa garuḍadhvaje ayaṃ*
   2. *kārite i*[*a*] *Heliodoreṇa bhāga—*
   3. *vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhkhasilākena*
   4. *Yona dūtena* [*ā*]*gatena mahārājasa*
   5. *Aṁtalikitasa upa*[*ṁ*]*tā sakāsaṃ raño*
   6. [*Ko*]*sipu*[*tra*]*sa* [*Bh*]*āgabhadrasa trātārasa*
   7. *vasena ca*[*tu*]*dasemna rājena vadhamānasa.*
   8. *trini amuta-padāni* [*ia*] [*su*]*-anuṭhitāni*
   9. *neyaṁti* [*svagaṃ*] *dama cāga apramāda.*
   Translation:
   This Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was erected by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata (i.e. a worshipper of Viṣṇu), the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as Greek ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas to King Kosiputra (Kautsiputra) Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour, then reigning prosperously in the 14th year of his kingship.
   Three immortal precepts when practised lead to heaven—self-restraint, charity, conscientiousness.
3. The Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar near Bhilsa bearing the Brāhmī inscription of Heliodorus. The capital is damaged.

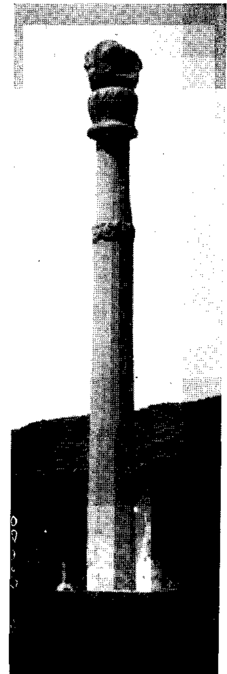


1. THE BAJAUR CASKET INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER

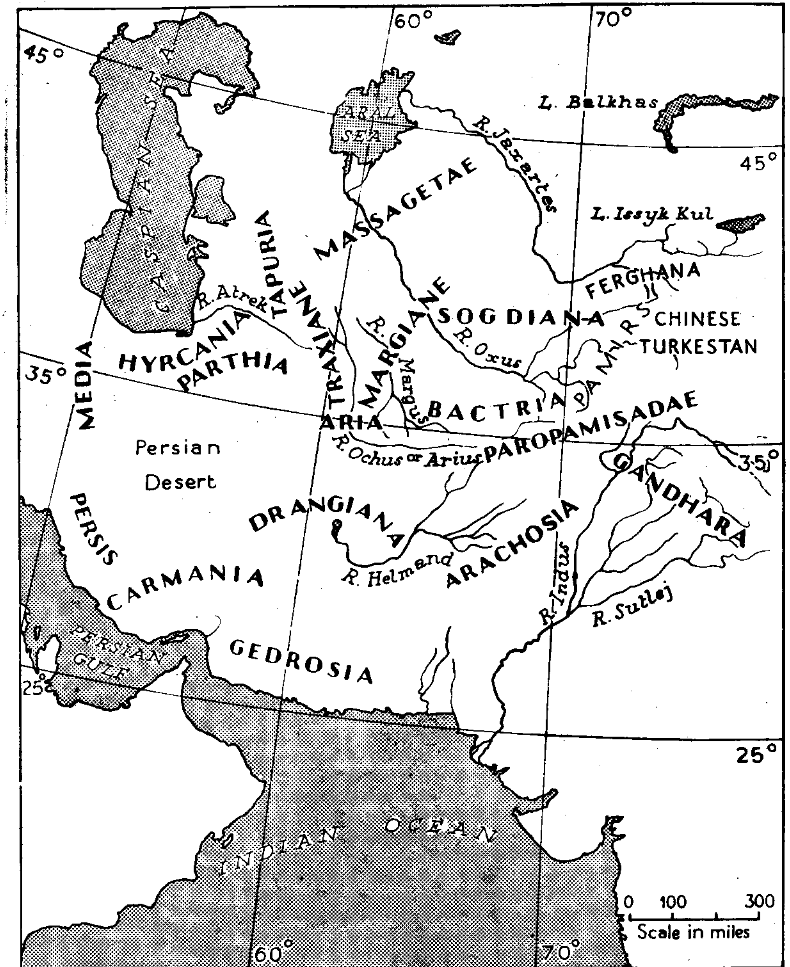




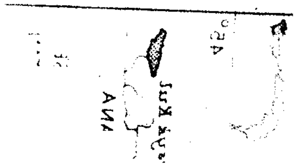
2. HELIODORUS INSCRIPTION ON THE BESNAGAR PILLAR

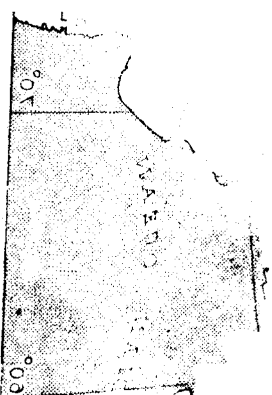


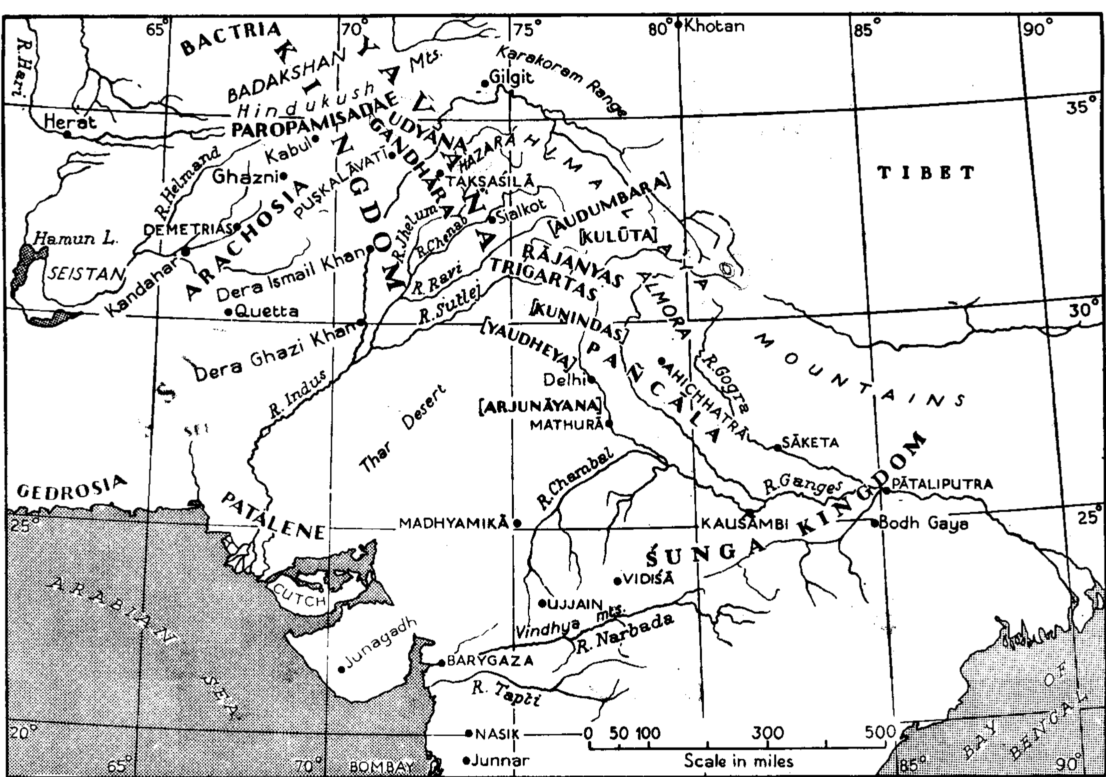
3. BESNAGAR PILLAR



I. BACTRIA AND THE SURROUNDING REGIONS







II. NORTHERN INDIA AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD OF MENANDER OR MID-SECOND ENTURY B.C.

III. INDIA AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES SHOWING IMPORTANT ROUTES USED BY THE YAVANAS, ŚAKAS, PAHLAVAS, AND YÜEH-CHIH